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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

EDWARD THE THIRD.

VOL. I.

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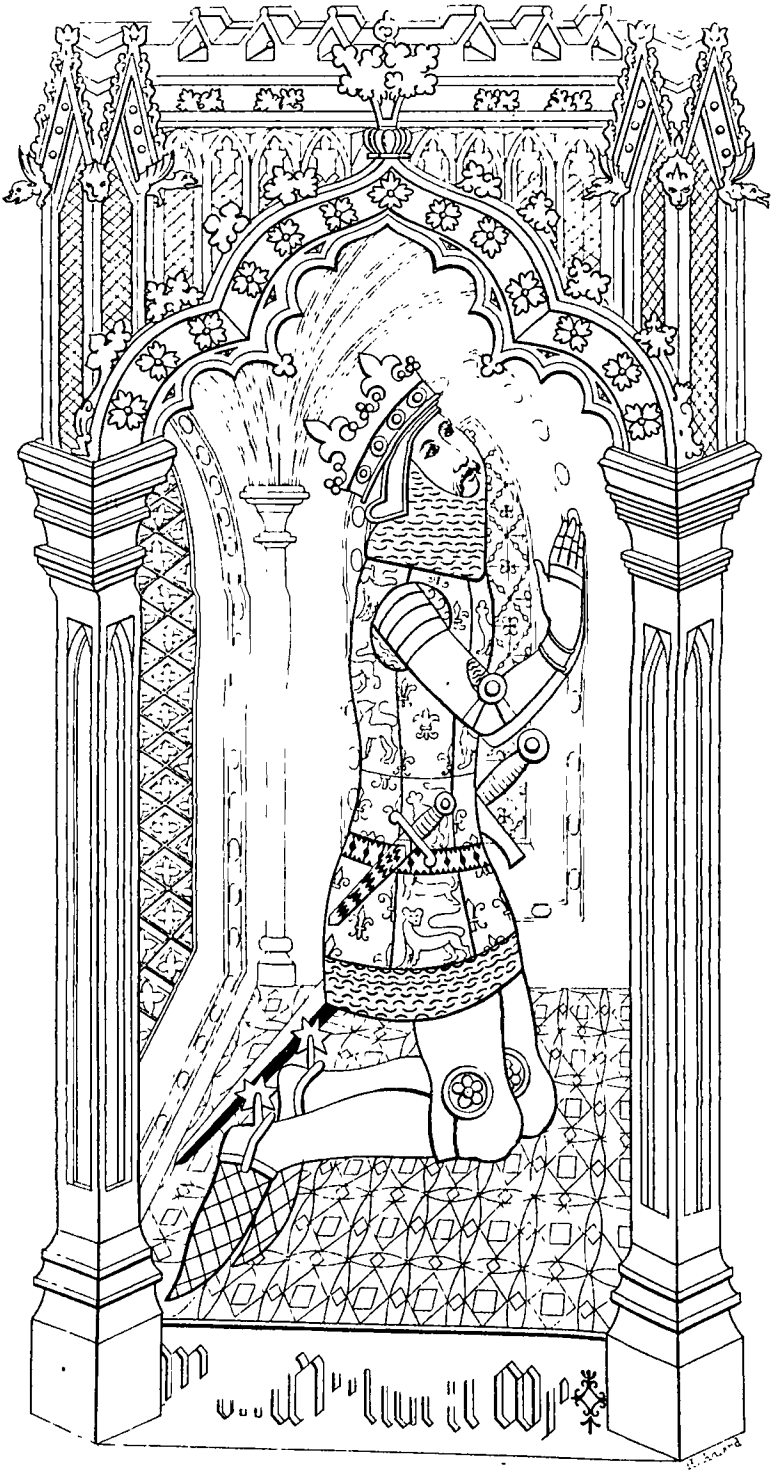

EDWARD III

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING AT ST STEPHENS WESTMINSTER

THE HISTORY

OF

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

EDWARD THE THIRD.

BY

WILLIAM LONGMAN.

31863

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1869.

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PREFACE.

THE LECTURES on the History of England which I published during the years 1857—1863, ended with the death of Edward the Second. The present volumes, which comprise the Life and Times of Edward the Third, may therefore be considered as a continuation of that work. In a certain sense they may be so ; but, inasmuch as they were not written for delivery as Lectures, and have consequently been composed on a different plan, they are in truth a separate and independent work.

The fact is that, shortly after beginning my researches into the History of the reign of Edward the Third, with the view of continuing the Lectures which I had been in the habit of delivering to the Chorleywood Association for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes, a change of residence to another neighbourhood led to the discontinuance of my Lectures altogether. But, my attention having been directed to this reign, it appeared to me so full of interest and importance, so abounding in picturesque incidents, and so much neglected by historians, as to be worthy of further study with a view to the

composition of a work especially devoted to it. Encouraged by the commendations bestowed on my Lectures, I consequently determined to attempt to write the history of this reign in a manner which, though equally aiming at perspicacity and graphic narrative, might at the same time deserve the attention of the historical enquirer. While, therefore, I have endeavoured to present, as far as practicable, a living picture of the times, filled in with all the details necessary to present a correct representation of the political events of the reign, accompanied by the social circumstances which attended them and by which they were influenced, I have also entered with minute elaboration into the elucidation of various interesting subjects of unquestionable importance, but more suited to the student than to the listener.

I am well aware of the imperfect way in which this historical picture has been drawn, and of the great difficulty of delineating it fully and satisfactorily on the one hand, and without exaggeration and unwarranted assumptions on the other. But even this attempt may, perhaps, present the history of the past in a truer and more valuable form than a bare narrative of public events unaccompanied by what to some may seem trivial details.

Again, each series of subjects, such as the wars with Scotland and with France, the relations with the Pope, the history of trade and of commercial legislation, of the manners and customs of the times, might have been separately and completely treated and

brought to its conclusion without reference to anything else. But such a course would have made the history a series of separate dissertations, and have reduced the narrative to a comparatively dry record of political events. On such a plan, we should not have seen Edward engaged in a mighty war, marching with his hawks and hounds, as if setting forth on some right royal sport; we should not have seen the gallant, cheery, genial John of Chandos, singing the songs, which he had just learned in Germany, to pass away the time while the King—sitting in his favourite ship "The Cog Thomas," and dressed in a well-fitting velvet jacket, with a beaver hat to match, "which became him well"— waited the onslaught of the Spaniards. We should not have fully recognised the important effects of a grievous plague on all the relations of political and private life, nor the influence of the polished manners of chivalry on the stern realities of war. For these reasons, therefore, I have from time to time interrupted the narrative to mention various incidents connected with the life and habits of the nation, and to give an account of the laws which were then being made.

There is also another feature in the treatment of this reign, to which attention may be called. It is, the introduction of sketches of the contemporaneous history of some of the nations of Continental Europe. Edward's wars brought him into such complicated relations with various foreign States that they cannot be properly understood without some account of their

history and of their connection with each other. It thus became necessary to introduce a brief outline of the origin of the various sovereignties and dominions of which Europe was then composed, and show their influence on Edward's wars and alliances. The history of France, too, had so constant and important a bearing on its wars with England, that it was necessary to enter somewhat minutely into it. For the same reason an account has been given of the terrible outbreak of the oppressed peasantry known as "The Jacquerie." Again, that deeply interesting attempt at revolution, headed by Etienne Marcel, which in many of its features almost exactly resembles the greater struggle which occurred four centuries afterwards, had so immediate a bearing on the relations between England and France, that a narrative of it also was indispensable. In like manner, the fatal expedition of the Black Prince into Spain rendered necessary a sketch of the history of that country, and an account of the crimes of the monster whom Prince Edward supported, and from the results of which that expedition sprang.

Such is the way in which I have attempted to make intelligible the Life and Times of Edward the Third; and if the perusal of these volumes should encourage others either to write or to study more carefully the History of our nation, should it impress on the minds of public men the conviction—more important than ever at the present day—that no man is fitted to take part in the government of his

country who is not well acquainted with its past history, and possessed of a clear knowledge of the origin and ancient working of its institutions, I shall be amply recompensed.

In conclusion, I must tender my sincere thanks to various friends to whom I am indebted for much valuable aid. To mention them by name would give me great pleasure, but my doing so might seem like a shrinking from responsibility and a wish to shelter myself from censure under the shadow of authorities that would carry more weight than any statement or opinion of my own. They will, I am sure, appreciate my motives, and accept this recognition of their assistance, accompanied by my most hearty thanks for their kindness in giving it.

ASHLYNS, GREAT BERKHAMSTED:
January, 1869.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

FROM THE ACCESSION TO THE PEACE WITH SCOTLAND . . 1

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE MARRIAGE OF EDWARD TO THE FALL OF MORTIMER . 21

CHAPTER III.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE 41

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF ORDER IN ENGLAND, AND WAR WITH SCOTLAND IN SUPPORT OF BALLIOL 49

CHAPTER V.

LAWS RELATIVE TO SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL LIFE PASSED DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF EDWARD'S REIGN . . . 76

CHAPTER VI.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE.—ENGLAND'S FOREIGN ALLIANCES: THEIR ORIGIN AND OBJECT 93

CHAPTER VII.

PAGE

FURTHER PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—EDWARD'S FORMAL ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE, AND HIS EMBARKATION FOR FLANDERS 112

CHAPTER VIII.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR.—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN, AND ITS UNSATISFACTORY CHARACTER.—EDWARD'S MORE FORMAL ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE, AND HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND 131

CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD'S NECESSITIES FOR MONEY, HIS RETURN TO FLANDERS, THE FIRST BATTLE, THE FRUITLESS END OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND EDWARD'S SECOND RETURN TO ENGLAND 160

CHAPTER X.

THE KING'S UNEXPECTED RETURN TO ENGLAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—PROLONGATION OF TRUCE WITH FRANCE, AND CONCLUSION OF TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND 179

CHAPTER XI.

RECOMMENCEMENT OF WAR WITH FRANCE, AND THE INVASION OF BRITTANY 194

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN BRITTANY 209

CHAPTER XIII.

PARLIAMENT DECIDES ON PEACE, OR WAR IN EARNEST.—THE CONSEQUENT PREPARATIONS MADE FOR WAR, UNTIL EDWARD'S GREAT INVASION OF FRANCE 219

CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD'S INVASION OF FRANCE, AND THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY . 239

CHAPTER XV.

PAGE
THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CALAIS 263

CHAPTER XVI.

ENGLAND'S PROSPERITY AFTER THE TAKING OF CALAIS.—ITS DIMINUTION BY THE "BLACK DEATH," AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT PESTILENCE 290

CHAPTER XVII.

PROLONGATION OF TRUCE.—TREACHEROUS ATTEMPT TO RECOVER CALAIS.—DEATH OF PHILIP VI., AND ACCESSION OF JOHN . 313

CHAPTER XVIII.

SEA FIGHT WITH THE SPANIARDS, AND WAR IN GASCONY AND BRITTANY 322

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION 336

CHAPTER XX.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR, AND INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE BLACK PRINCE 352

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS 377

CHAPTER XXII.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS AND RELEASE OF KING DAVID . . . 401

APPENDIX.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE ROUND TOWER AT WINDSOR IN A.D. 1344 413

ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

MAPS.

MAP. PAGE

1. Origin of the Kingdoms of Western Europe (in Four Compartments) . . . . . *To face* 93
   1. Empire of Charlemagne.
   2. Ditto, in A.D. 847, as divided among the Sons of Lewis the Pious.
   3. Ditto, in A.D. 888, after Deposition of Charles the Fat.
   4. France and Germany in the Time of Edward III.
2. Campaigns in Flanders 131
3. Brittany, Normandy, and North-Western France . 209
4. Battles of Crécy and Poitiers 239
5. Ford of Blanche-tache 254

"Entre Port le Grand et Noyelles-sur-Mer, on montre encore le gué de *Blanquetaque*) *Blanque taque* signifie *tache blanche* en patois picard), qui sauva l'armée anglaise quelques jours avant la bataille de Crécy en 1346."—*Description historique et pittoresque du Département de la Somme*, par M. H. Dusenel et P. A. Scribe. Amiens and Paris, 1836, 2 vols.

"L'armée anglaise partit à minuit d'Oisemont, guidée par Gobin Agache, et arriva vers cinq heures du matin au gué de *Blanquetaque*. Cassini s'est trompé en plaçant ce gué à l'entrée de l'embouchure de la Somme au-dessus du Crotoy.

"Ce que les marins nomment *Blanquetaque*, c'est-à-dire *tache blanche*, est le point le plus apparent de la falaise crayeuse qui forme au dessus de Port une longue bande de couleur blanche. C'est donc à douze ou quinze cent mètres environ à l'aval de ce village que

MAP PAGE

nous devons placer l'endroit où se trouvait ce passage. Sur tous les points de la Somme, depuis Port jusqu'au Crotoy, le fond de la rivière est mobile comme ses flots; chaque marée le creuse ou l'exhausse alternativement, mais le gué de Blanquetaque n'a jamais varié. Dans les longues guerres du moyen âge il a toujours servi de passage aux nombreuses armées qui ravageaient les pays. Aujourd'hui, comme au temps de Gobin Agache, ce gué 'a gravier de blanch marle, fort et dur, sur quoi on peut fermement charrier' (Froissart), mais maintenant le fleuve est entièrement guéable depuis Port jusqu'à Noyelles."—*Histoire ancienne et moderne d'Abbeville et de son Arrondissement* (pp. 119, 120), par S. C. Louandre. Abbeville, 1834.

6. SOUTHERN FRANCE . . . . *To face* 363

PLATES.

PORTRAIT OF EDWARD III. (From a Wall Painting formerly in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.) . . *Frontispiece*

"The paintings given in outline in this plate, formed the decoration of the east end of St. Stephen's Chapel, on the north side of the high altar. They are in two tiers, or series, totally unconnected with each other. The lower division, which is two feet and an inch in height, exhibits a row of arches, seven in number, but which are divided into three compartments, each having its separate perspective of groins and windows, resembling in some degree small oratories or chapels. In each arch is a figure in armour, kneeling, representing the King, Edward the Third, with his five sons, introduced, as it were, to the altar by Saint George, the patron saint of England. Under each figure has been its name in French, but of these only Saint George and the King are legible. There can be little doubt that these were intended for portraits of the royal family; and it is very much to be regretted that, by some unaccountable accident, the faces of the four younger princes should have been completely obliterated, while every other part of the picture is nearly perfect.

"The face of the King may certainly be called handsome; he probably was about forty-four years of age when this portrait was painted." —*Account of the Collegiate Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster.* By John Topham, Esq., F.R.S., folio, Antiq. Society, London.

"The crown of the King who kneels under the adjoining arch is embossed and gilt; the helmet silvered; its rim, gilt. Mail, the same as on St. George. His surcoat is quartered with the arms of England and France; lions embossed and gilt on a red field, made by glazing red lake on gold; fleurs de lys embossed

PAGE

and gilt on a light blue field; the scabbard of his sword, black; that of his dagger, mottled black and gold; handles of both gilt; swordbelt, black with gilt quatrefoils."—*Ibid.* page 14.

EFFIGY OF QUEEN PHILLIPPA. (From her Monument in Westminster Abbey.) . . . . *To face* 21

WOODCUTS.

SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN, (From a Brass in the Church of Stoke Davernon, Surrey), illustrating the Armour of the Commencement of the Reign of Edward III. . *To face* 1

a, Bassinet. *b*, Camail, or tippet of ring mail. *c*, Epauliers, or shoulder-pieces. *d*, Rerebraces, or brassarts. *e*, Coudes, or shoulder-pieces. *f*, Cyclas, underneath which is the jupon and hauberk. *g*, Jupon, which lies under the cyclas, but over the hauberk. *h*, Gamborsed or Pourpoint work worn under the hauberk. *i*, Lower part of the Hauberk, or shirt of mail, the wide open sleeves of which appear next to the coudes. *k*, Genouillères or knee-pieces. *l*, Greaves. *m*, Sollerets of 5 pieces, or lames. *n*, Prick Spurs. *o*, Shield much reduced in length from the preceding century. *p*, Vambraces, or avant-bras, armour for the fore-arm.

ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD. (From his Monument in Canterbury Cathedral.) 179

a, *a*, Pallium, or Pall of the Archbishop. *b*, *b*, *b*, the Golden Pins by which it was attached to the chasuble. *c*, the Chasuble. *d*, the Amice. *e*, the Apparel (parure) of the amice. *f*, Tunic. *g*, the Dalmatic fringe at the extremities. *h*, the Alb with its parures. *i*, the Mitre (*Mitra pretiosam*). *k*, the Stole. *l*, Maniple. *m*, Gloves; the hands are broken away. *n*, the Crozier, or Archbishop's Staff, placed on the right side; a very unusual position. The cross with which it terminated is broken away. *o*, Sandals ornamented with roses.

COURT OF EXCHEQUER IN IRELAND IN THE 15TH CENTURY. (From the Red Book of the Exchequer Court of Ireland, copied from "Gentleman's Magazine," January, 1855.) Explanation of Figures 183

1. Figure to the extreme right, the Usher, adjourning the court, and exclaiming *A demain*.
2. Next to the left, the Lord Treasurer's or Second Remembrancer, whose chief duty was to take care that sheriffs and others who were accountable to the crown, should pay the money collected by them, and perform the other duties incident to their offices. On

PAGE

the parchment placed before him are inscribed the words *Receptum fuit vicecomiti per breve hujus Saccarij.*

3. To his left, the Chief Remembrancer, who was a principal officer of the Court, to whom the keeping of the Records was entrusted. The words in his hand are *Memorandum quod decimo die Maii, &c.*
4. The next to the left, the Summonister, preparing a writ, the words on which are *Henricus dei gratiâ.*
5. The next, the Pursuivant, or Messenger to the Court, with a writ bearing words *Exiit breve vicecomiti.*
6. To the extreme left (probably), the Marshal.
7. At the foot, on the left hand side, the Treasurer.
8. Above the Treasurer, the Chancellor, exclaiming *Voir dire*, or, "Speak the truth."
9. Next above, the Baron, giving judgment, *Soient forfez*, "Let them be forfeited."

10, 11, 12. Plaintiff, Defendant, and Champion with his sword; a trial by combat in a civil case being probably the subject represented.

13. At foot of the table, the Sheriff.

On the table, covered with a chequered cloth, are five counters, the Red Book of the Court, and *baga cum rotulis*, or bag containing records.

COVERED WAY TO PROTECT PIONEERS ADVANCING TO UNDERMINE WALLS. (From Viollet-le-Duc's "Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages." Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker.[1]) . . . . *To face* 199

A, A Guard. B, A Pioneer. C, The Hoarding. D, The Machicoulis. E, The Platform for a Passage inside the Parapet.

ROUND TABLE. (From a Miniature of the Fourteenth Century, Bib. Imp. de Paris. "Les Arts du Moyen Âge," par Paul La Croix [Bibliophile Jacob]. Didot, Paris, 1869.) 224

ARCHER WITH SHEAF OF ARROWS. (From Viollet-le-Duc's "Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages." 257

CROSSBOWMAN WITH SHIELD. (*Ibid.*) . . . 257

CROSSBOWMEN. (From Viollet-le-Duc's "Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française.") . . . 365

TOWER AT CARCASSONNE. (From Viollet-le-Duc's "Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.") . . 366

BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF CARCASSONNE. (*Ibid.*) . . 367

[1] For the loan of this and the six others from this interesting work, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. James Parker.

SIR JOHN D'AUBERNOUN.

From a brass in the Church of Stoke Davernon, Surrey, illustrating the armour of the commencement of the Reign of Edward III. (For explanation, see List of Illustrations.)

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

EDWARD THE THIRD

A.D. 1327—77.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION TO THE PEACE WITH SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1327.

THE King, whose history it is the purpose of the following pages to relate, was the last but one of the Plantagenets who sat on the throne of England. This race, known also as The House of Anjou, reigned over England for nearly two hundred and fifty years. It sprang, in this country, from the marriage of Matilda, daughter of Henry the First, with Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, whose son succeeded to the throne as Henry the Second. Its rule in England came to an end, at the death of Richard the Second, when Henry of Lancaster became King. Six, out of the eight Kings of this race, were distinguished for manly vigour and determined will. These qualities, remarkable in the first Edward, the greatest of his race, but entirely wanting in his degenerate son, reappeared in his grandson, Edward the Third. Born of a weak and vicious father and depraved mother,

Contrast between the King and his father.

A.D. 1327. and succeeding to the throne when only fourteen years of age, he can have excited but small hope of future greatness, and, it would not have been surprising, had his reign been one of frivolous folly, or submissive dependence. But, despite all disadvantages, he speedily freed himself from the evil influences under which his reign began; and none, more brilliant in arms, nor more fruitful in social progress, has ever graced the annals of English history.

The evil influences under which he came to the throne.

The glory of his reign.

Its characteristics. Foreign wars;

The great, external, characteristic of Edward's reign, is to be found, in its constant state of foreign warfare. There was war with Scotland, which must be looked on as being then a foreign country, so continually was England engaged in hostilities with its rulers, and so closely was Scotland united to England's then great enemy, France. This war was waged, in the vain endeavour, to compel the Scots to accept, as their king, a Baliol instead of a Bruce. There was war with Spain, the object of which was to place a detested tyrant on the throne of Castile; but the greatest war was that with France, carried on with the (professed) object, vain and mischievous indeed, though at one time nearly successful, of uniting the crowns of France and England under one sovereignty, yet immortalised by the capture of Calais, the victories of Crécy and Poitiers, and by the gallant exploits of the Prince of Wales, known after those triumphant successes as "The Black Prince."

Commercial and social progress.

The internal characteristics of the reign, however, to be found in the lives of its memorable men, such as Chaucer, Wyclif, Wykeham, Mandeville, and others who lived during its course, and in the remarkable progress which the nation then made in liberty, civilisation, and commerce, are equally interesting, and

of far greater importance. Parliament began to have a more direct influence in government; the questions of peace and war, became in a great measure dependent on its granting or withholding supplies, instead of beginning and ending according only to the will of the King. Towards the end of the reign, the Commons dared to remonstrate against wasteful expenditure, and asserted their power, in a way, till then unheard of. Thus arose the first Parliamentary struggle recorded in English history. The English language was then first recognised by law, and ordered to be used in pleadings in the courts of justice; and, the birth of English literature, also dates from this splendid reign. Commerce made great progress; laws relative to it were passed, some of which were beneficial, but others cannot be thus characterised. Increase of revenue was Edward's chief aim in these enactments, and the commercial interests of his own kingdom were not unfrequently sacrificed for that object; therefore, while giving him full credit for some parts of his commercial policy, he cannot be deemed justly entitled to the name of "The Father of English Commerce,"[1] by which he has been sometimes designated. But yet, commerce made progress, and its importance was more fully recognised. Our woollen manufactures increased in this reign, although they did not, as is often supposed, originate in it; they were, nevertheless, so greatly extended, improved, and encouraged during its continuance, that from this period may be dated a new era in their history. Edward, profiting by discontents among the manufacturers of Flanders,[2] with whose skill he had become

A.D. 1327.

Influence of Parliament.

English language first used in courts of law.

Commercial affairs.

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 384 (8vo. 1841).

[2] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 505.

A.D. 1327. acquainted through his marriage with the daughter of the Count of Hainault, persuaded many of the Flemish weavers to come over and settle in England, offering them every encouragement.

Commercial parliament.

Commerce indeed became so important, that, following the example of his father,[1] Edward felt the necessity of summoning a commercial parliament, apparently more numerous than the national Parliament itself, to discuss questions of trade.[2] Merchants became so rich, and were held in such high esteem, that in the year 1363, one Picard, Mayor of London, entertained Edward the Third, the Black Prince, and the Kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with many of the nobility, in London at his house in the Vintry, where the foreign wine-merchants carried on their business. On the departure of his illustrious guests, he presented them with handsome gifts.[3] The principle of summoning class Parliaments, as they may be called, was often acted on in Edward's reign, and is a great proof of the growing importance of trade. Men from seaport towns, as will be seen in the course of this history, were constantly summoned to meet and report as to

[1] Dec. 16, 1315. Oct. 20, 1318. M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. pp. 481, 486.

[2] Ibid. p. 519, referring to the following passage in Willis' *History of Buckingham* (London, A.D. 1755), p. 41: "Those precepts were to send to the King's councils in matters relating to trade, and not to his Parliaments. The first of these directed, Anno II., Ballivis Villae de Bokyngham, being very strictly enjoined, they were obliged to comply with. And as it required them to send three or four de probioribus et discretioribus Hominibus dictae Villae, they accordingly returned these three men, whose names are entered on the dorse of the writ, viz. Hugh Kynebell, Roger le Draper, and Henry de Selvetoh."

[3] Stow's *Survey of London*, folio, London, 1754, vol. i. p. 309.

the state of the shipping. These special Parliaments, A.D. 1327. were in fact more entirely the advisers of the King than the national Parliaments. The business of the latter —at the beginning of the reign—consisted chiefly in granting or withholding supplies, and in presenting petitions for the redress of grievances; while the former, like Royal Commissions in the present day, must have been summoned, to investigate and state facts, and express opinions as a foundation for legislation.

Dawn of the Reformation.

The resistance to the Pope's encroachments, which was demanded by Parliament and insisted on even by the clergy, and the opposition, first begun by Wyclif, to doctrines now peculiar to the Church of Rome, signalise the reign as the epoch, during which the Reformation—that noble assertion of the right of man to use his reason even in spiritual matters, which can never be given up without the simultaneous loss of political freedom,—took its rise. There is, too, another special feature of the reign, which marks a stage in social progress, and at the present time possesses a peculiar interest. It is, the struggle, consequent on the scarcity of labour, which took place between labour and capital, between employers and employed, the attempt on the one hand to lower wages by the force of law, and on the other to allow of their natural rise. This was the result of the frightful depopulation of the country, by the terrible plague known as the Black Death.

Struggle between labour and capital.

To this short summary, of those events of this reign which have an especial interest at the present day, must be added the statement, that the relations between England and Ireland, and the legislation in reference to that country, were of no small significance.

Relations with Ireland.

A.D. 1327.

Wars with France.

To the observer of social progress, all these circumstances are facts of paramount interest, but to those to whom gallant bravery and stirring events are more attractive, the constant warfare with France will appear to be the most memorable characteristic of the reign. The battles of Crécy and Poitiers, and the gallant exploits of the King's son, Edward the Black Prince, impress themselves on some minds more vividly than the progress of trade and commerce; and the peculiarities of the feudal system, and usages of chivalry, which at this time were carried to the highest point, but which thenceforward began to decline, impart to the incidents of the battles and manners of the age, a picturesque interest, which is apt to blind one to the defects, inseparably mingled, with that splendid, but imperfect, condition of society.

Edward's accession, January 24th, 1327;

Edward the Third ascended the throne when still a mere boy, and while his father, dethroned and imprisoned for his misgovernment and vices, was yet living. He was born on November 13th, 1312; on January 24th, 1327, he was proclaimed King of England, by order and consent of Parliament; and on the 29th of that month, writs were addressed, in his name, to the Sheriffs of the various counties, ordering them to proclaim him in their several jurisdictions. On the 1st of February he received the order of knighthood from his cousin, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, brother of Thomas of Lancaster who was beheaded in the reign of Edward the Second, and grandfather of Blanche, the wife of John of Gaunt, from whom Henry the Fourth pretended to derive a right to the throne. On the same day he was crowned at Westminster, by Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury. The dowry of the Queen Mother, was,

and coronation.

immediately afterwards, fixed at so excessive an amount, that hardly one-third of the revenues of the kingdom was left for the young King.[1] A.D. 1327.

Edward had been appointed Guardian of the Kingdom on October 26th, 1326; but, the nation was dissatisfied, that his imprisoned father, who was then treated with universal contempt not unmingled with disgust, should any longer remain even their nominal King. Accordingly, at the meeting of Parliament on January 7th, 1327, the strong measure was taken of deposing him.[2] There was none to utter a word in his favour; all agreed that he was unworthy to reign; and, by the common consent of Parliament, it was determined, that his eldest son should be King in his stead. The decision was communicated to a crowd which filled the great hall of Westminster, and shouted its assent; and the Archbishop of Canterbury then preached a sermon, taking for his theme the saying, "Vox populi Vox Dei." The hypocritical Queen pretended to weep when she was informed of what Parliament had done respecting her husband; and the young Prince declared he would never wear the crown against the will of his father. The wretched King was at Kenilworth, under custody of the Earl of Lancaster. A deputation, among whom was John Stratford, Bishop of Winchester, who had been chosen as Edward's adviser, and who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury, was therefore sent thither to obtain his resignation. In this there was, Deposition of Edward II.

[1] Walsingham, pp. 186–188—"Eodem tempore assignata fuit dos Reginæ talis et tanta, quod Regi filio regni pars tertia vix remansit;" and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 683.

[2] With reference to the Parliamentary power of deposition, see Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. pp. 115–117.

A.D. 1327. of course, no difficulty; and indeed, the depth of his humiliation, as evinced in his words of consent, is sadly touching. He wept, and said, "It grieved him much that he had deserved so little of his people, and he begged pardon of all who were present; but, since it could not be otherwise, he thanked them for electing his eldest son." When the deputation returned to London, with the insignia and the poor King's consent, "the people rejoiced."[1]

Reversal of proceedings for treason in previous reign.

After the Coronation of the young King, Parliament proceeded to the consideration of the petition of Henry of Lancaster, for the reversal of the proceedings against his brother Thomas, which had entailed on him the forfeiture of his dignity as Earl. His conviction was clearly illegal, inasmuch as the Earl had not been lawfully arraigned; being one of the Peers of the Realm, he should have been judged by his Peers, which was not done. The proceedings were, consequently, pronounced by the whole Parliament to be null and void.[2] It was necessary, also, for the safety of all those, who had taken part with the Queen and Mortimer against the King and the Despencers, and who had been, in the words of the petition, "Of the Quarrel of the Earl of Lancaster," that they should be indemnified from the consequences of their treasonable proceedings. Treasonable they undoubtedly were, though circumstances may have

[1] Walsingham, pp. 186, 187.

[2] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. pp. 3–5. In 1341, a Statute (15 Ed. 3. c. 2) was passed providing that no Peer should be judged except by his Peers. "The confinement of the Privileges of Peerage . . . may have prevailed and probably did prevail before in some degree, but by this Statute it was clearly and distinctly recognised."—*Parry's Parliaments and Councils*, p. 113 note (°), and see *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 313.

justified the treason. A Statute (1st Edward III.) was accordingly passed, providing against their being "impeached, molested, or grieved in person or in goods," on account of anything they had done, from the landing of the Queen from France in the autumn of 1326, till the Coronation of the young King. This proceeding made Mortimer also safe, and there can be but little doubt of his anxiety to bring it about, and of his influence in effecting it. A.D. 1327.

Edward was but fourteen years and two months old, and therefore a body of guardians, with the Earl of Lancaster at its head,[1] was appointed to watch over his interests, and to act as a council for the government of the kingdom. It is singular that Mortimer was not named among them; but it is evident, from the proceedings so soon afterwards taken against him, that he was no favourite of the barons, and that they regarded him with suspicion. The belief that he was continuing to live an adulterous life with Queen Isabella—which, if not begun, had at least been continued at Paris during her visit to her brother in 1325, and the knowledge of which had caused the Bishop of Exeter to retire from her company[2]—must have made them unwilling to place him in a position of authoritative power; besides which, the attainder pronounced against him, at the time of the defeat of the barons at Boroughbridge, in 1322,[3] was not then actually reversed. But yet, in open defiance of the arrangements thus made by Parliament, Mortimer and the Queen contrived for three years to usurp all power in the state; nominally, for a time, in conjunction with

Guardians appointed,

Mortimer not included;

his arrogance and usurpation of power.

[1] Walsingham, p. 192; and Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 52.
[2] Walsingham, p. 177. [3] Ibid.

A.D. 1327. the King's uncle, the Earl of Kent, who was one of the guardians. They managed the young King to such an extent, and so shamelessly, that "no one dared open his mouth for the good of the King or of the kingdom."[1]

War between England and Scotland broke out almost immediately. The young King,—or rather his uncle, the Earl of Kent, and the suspected favourite Roger Mortimer, who governed in his name,[2]—lost no time after his accession, in issuing orders,[3] for the due observance of the thirteen years' truce, made between the two countries on June 7th, 1323. This proceeding was quickly followed, by an attempt to convert the truce into a permanent peace.[4] There is no reason to suppose, that this was not an honest endeavour to establish peace between the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the insult offered to "The Bruce," by withholding from him the title of King of Scotland, which some Scottish historians represent as evidence to the contrary.[5] It was soon found, however, that there was no prospect of agreement as to terms, for neither King was inclined to yield what the other demanded; and about Easter, King Robert the Bruce formally defied the King of England.[6] Edward then issued a proclamation,[7] stating that, although he had agreed with "Robert Bruce and his Scotch adherents," that the commissioners should meet on Sunday, the 18th of May, on the marches of Scotland, to treat for permanent peace, he found, that

Attempts to make peace between England and Scotland.

Their failure.

[1] Knighton, col. 2553. [2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 19.
[3] Feb. 15, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 689.
[4] March 4 and 6, Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 695, 696.
[5] See Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 419.
[6] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 20.
[7] April 5, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 702.

Robert had collected a large body of forces on the marches; and, that he purposed, if he could not have peace on his own terms, to invade England. Edward therefore, according, as he said, to the advice of his Prelates, Magnates, and Nobles (the Commons not being even mentioned), ordered all the forces of the kingdom to meet him at Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Monday, the 19th of May; and he directed his great-uncle, Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England, to be present with the army. At the same time, he ordered his navy to rendezvous at Skinburness, a small seaport in the Solway Frith, on the north-west of Cumberland. The King, accompanied by his mother, his brother, and his two sisters, had already set out for the North when he issued this proclamation; it was dated from Ramsey, a village ten miles north of Huntingdon. The Royal progress can be traced through Peterborough, Stamford and Nottingham to York, by the orders which he issued from those various places. These were, now, for a continuation of the negotiations for peace;[1] now, for the raising of men, each of whom was to be provided with a horse worth from 30*s.* to 40*s.* by the Aldermen of the city of London and of forty-two other cities and towns;[2] now, to say that he had heard that the Scots had already invaded England, burning and laying waste the country, and that consequently in the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire and in Lancashire all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty capable of fighting were to join him at York without delay. He stayed about six weeks at York, which he ordered to be strongly fortified, as it was

A.D. 1327.

Edward prepares to defend England against the Scots, and marches to the North of England.

[1] April 23, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 704. [2] Ibid. p. 705.

A.D. 1327. intended that the Queen and the rest of her children should remain there, while he accompanied the army. When he reached York, he summoned Edward Baliol,[1] the Competitor's son, from France, in order to make use of him, in case of need, as a rival puppet king; but he soon sent him back again for a time, as the temporary peace, which he shortly afterwards made with Scotland, rendered his presence useless.

His Flemish allies.

At York, Edward was joined, early in June, by Sir John of Hainault, the uncle of his future Queen;[2] at Edward's request, he had come over from Flanders with a large body of troops, to help him in his war with the Scots.[3] In order to prevent any chance of a collision between them and the citizens, the Flemings were lodged in a quarter of the city which was entirely given up to them; and Sir John, had an abbey, belonging to the white monks, in the same part of the town, allotted to him and his retinue; but, unfortunately, the peace of the city was soon disturbed, by a quarrel between the foreigners and the English. A great banquet was given, in the house of the Friars Minor, by the King and his mother to their allies; while they were feasting, a quarrel broke out, between the English archers, and the Hainault camp-followers who had accompanied their masters to the feast. It arose, according to some accounts, from a quarrel at dice; according to others, from insults offered by the strangers to the wives and daughters of the citizens.[4] This quarrel was not put down without much bloodshed, and the

Their quarrel with the English at York.

[1] April 23, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 709.
[2] Ibid. p. 706.
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 20.
[4] Leland, as quoted by Buchon, *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 22, note.

ill-feeling thence engendered lasted during the whole stay of the army in York. A.D. 1327.

At last, news reached the King, that the Scots had crossed the Tyne, and were actually burning and laying waste the country; it was decided to advance to meet them. The young King therefore set out from York with the army. He marched through Topcliffe, a village on the river Swale, to Northallerton; while there, hearing that the Scots were gathering together at Carlisle, he ordered all the ablebodied men in the Wapentake of Holdernesse and in the town of Beverley to be arrayed, and those who were not able to fight to make contributions in money.[1] He then proceeded to Durham, but got no tidings of the position of the Scots, until he entered Northumberland; even then he was unable to find them. It was only by the ruins the Scots had left behind them, and by the smoke of the burning villages, that the English were able to discover their line of march. The numbers of the English were about 62,000; those of the Scots about 24,000. Bruce was too ill with leprosy to accompany his army, but his place was well supplied by his nephew, Thomas Randolph Earl of Moray, and Sir James Douglas. The Scots were mounted on hardy little horses, unencumbered by any baggage, and were thus able to move about quickly, and elude the pursuit of the English.[2] Each man carried a bag of oatmeal, and an iron plate to bake it on. They found plenty of cattle, and cooked their meat in the skins of the beasts they had killed. At length, the English determined to cross over to the north bank of the Tyne, and lie in wait for the Scots, on their return to their

Edward hears that the Scots have crossed the Tyne,

but cannot find them.

Numbers of the contending armies.

The English cross the Tyne to catch the Scots on their return.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 709. [2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 25.

A.D. 1327. own country. They adopted this course; but, after waiting for more than a week, suffering greatly from drenching storms, against which they had no protection, determined to recross the river, and again march in search of their nimble foes. An esquire named Thomas de Rokeby now informed the King where the Scots were. He said he had been taken prisoner by them, but had been released, in order that he might inform the English of the position of the Scots, who, he said, were anxious to fight them. Edward knighted him on the spot, and promised him a grant of land of the annual value of £100 sterling. Rokeby then led the English to the banks of the river Wear, on the opposite side of which, in a strong position, the Scots were encamped. The English saw, however, that it was in vain to think of passing the Wear and attacking the Scots where they were posted, and therefore, in accordance with the chivalrous spirit of the times, invited them to cross the river, saying, that they would retire to give them room to fight, but that, if this did not suit the Scots, they would do so themselves on similar conditions.[1] The Scots, too wary to agree to the proposal, answered, that the King and his barons knew that they were in Edward's kingdom, and had burnt and wasted the country, and that if this displeased

The Scots are at length discovered,

but the English cannot bring them to battle.

[1] See a remarkable parallel to this incident (which has probably been often repeated with more or less similarity) in the story of Cyrus and Tomyris, in Herodotus, i. 205: "But if you will not attend to my advice, and prefer everything before peace; in a word, if you are very anxious to make trial of the Massagetæ, toil no longer in throwing a bridge over the river; but do you cross over to our side, while we retire three days' march from the river; or if you had rather receive us on your side, do you the like."

the English, they had better come and chastise them, A.D. 1327.
for they meant to remain as long as it suited them.

The English waited, vainly hoping that want of provisions would compel the Scots to cross and begin the attack. But the Scots were not to be drawn unwillingly into a conflict; for, while the English were suffering great distress, they had enough to eat, and were used to this rough style of campaigning. They therefore cared nothing for the English, and out of bravado, began blowing their horns and making such a noise, that "it seemed as if all the devils had come to carry them off." At last, after three days' waiting, the English, one morning, were surprised to find that the Scots had disappeared. In order to deceive the English, they had left their camp-fires burning, and, in the darkness of night, had silently moved on to a stronger position on the same river, in a wood at a place called Stanhope Park, an extensive hunting-ground belonging to the Bishop of Durham, situated about five miles WNW. of Wolsingham.

The Scots disappear, but are found again.

Edward now received a seasonable supply of money, which he borrowed from the Bardi, a company of Florentine bankers settled in London. To them and to the Perucchi, a similar company of bankers, Edward continually applied in his frequent necessities for money. The Lombards, Bardi (or Longobardi), were the great money-lenders of the time, and gave their name to Lombard Street, where they carried on their business. After a time, in 1345, the Bardi failed, and the King of England was then found to be in their debt, to the amount of 1,000,000 golden guldens. When this happened, Edward turned for help, in raising money on the wool he exported, to the

Edward borrows money of the Bardi.

A.D. 1328. Hanseatic league, a company of German merchants which had been established in London in the year 1260.[1] In security for the repayment of the money now borrowed of the Bardi, Edward gave them an order on the collectors of customs at Southampton and Sandwich.[2]

When the English became aware of the departure of the Scots, they moved to a position on the river opposite them, still hoping the Scots would begin the attack. But the English were negligent in keeping watch, and were surprised, one night, by Douglas, who, deceiving the English sentinels by using their watchword, penetrated into their camp, and nearly took the young King prisoner. The Scots still avoided a general engagement, and after a time repeated their former stratagem. They again broke up their camp in the night, and by means of hurdles which they had secretly prepared, crossed a morass in their rear, which defended them from attack but also rendered their retreat difficult. Before Edward was aware of their departure, they were many miles on their way to Scotland. They left behind them, in their camp, the carcasses of above five hundred deer and black cattle, which lay there ready killed, and many thousand pairs of shoes, made of raw hides with the hair on.

The Scots escape.

Edward at once saw that pursuit would be in vain.

The English do not pursue them,

[1] Pauli's *Pictures of Old England*, p. 184. See also an interesting article, "Notes on Florence," in *Fraser's Magazine*, October 1866. The history of the four great bankers of Florence —the Perucchi, Bardi, Scali, and Acciajoli—is about to be published in Italy, from MSS. in the Palazzo Riccardi in Florence, and will doubtless throw great light on the financial operations of the 14th century.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 712.

His heavy cavalry could not have overtaken the nimble little horses of the Scots, before they had crossed the border; and he therefore prepared for an immediate return to England.[1] He dismissed his army; ordered his treasurer to pay Sir John of Hainault the sum of £4,000 on account of £14,000 which he had agreed to give him; and directed, that if his treasurer had not money enough in the treasury, he was to pledge the royal jewels in his custody, to a sufficient extent to enable him to pay the Earl the required amount.[2] A.D. 1328.

Before leaving Stanhope, Edward ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to summon the clergy of his diocese to a colloquy with the other prelates, magnates, and great men of the kingdom, to be held at Lincoln on the 15th of September.[3] There is no record of the proceedings of this "colloquy," but it is pretty clear that it was decided to attempt to settle the terms of a permanent peace; for, on the 9th of October, the King issued orders from Nottingham, appointing Henry de Percy and William de Denum to treat with the Scots for that purpose.[4] The Scots consented to negotiate; and, on the 20th of November, the King wrote from Pontefract letters of safe-conduct to the Scottish commissioners, who were to meet the English at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Two days afterwards, the King named the English commissioners.[5] The terms of peace were agreed on; and, on the 10th of December, the King wrote from Coventry, to summon the clergy of the two provinces but make overtures of peace.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 23–32.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 708 and 713.
[3] Ibid. p. 712. [4] Ibid. p. 719. [5] Ibid. p. 723.

A.D. 1328. of York and Canterbury to meet Parliament at York, at a colloquy and deliberation, on Sunday, the 6th of the following February, for the purpose of considering whether peace should be made with Scotland.[1] The King reached York about the middle of January, and made preparations for the proper reception of one hundred Scotch knights who were to be present during the deliberations of Parliament,[2] but the Bruce was not yet designated as King of Scotland. At last, on the 1st of March, King Edward wrote to him, as, "by the grace of God, the illustrious King of the Scots," to say that, in order to put an end to the constant quarrels between the two nations, he had agreed, by the advice of the Prelates, Nobles, Earls, Barons, and Commons of the kingdom, to enter into a treaty with him, abandoning all claims over Scotland.[3]

Its conditions very favourable to Scotland.

The terms of the important treaty between the two kingdoms, which was eventually entered into, and signed by King Robert at Edinburgh on the 17th of March, and by Edward at Northampton on the 4th of May,[4] after confirmation by the Parliament which met on the 24th of April,[5] were most favourable to Scotland. It was agreed, that Edward should give up his claim of feudal superiority over Scotland; that the documents called Ragman Rolls, signed in 1296 by Baliol and numerous noblemen, whose names filled thirty-five skins of parchment,[6] admitting the rights of England over Scotland, should be delivered up; and, which however was not mentioned in the treaty,

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 725.
[2] Ibid. p. 728.
[3] Ibid. p. 730.
[4] Ibid. pp. 734 and 740.
[5] Parry's *Parliament and Councils*, p. 93.
[6] Tytler's *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 121.

that the great stone of Scone, on which the Kings of Scotland were crowned, together with various treasures and documents which Edward the First had carried away from Scotland, should also be restored. It was further agreed, that Bruce should pay the sum of £20,000, divided into three annual instalments, to the King of England; that his son David, then in his sixth year, who afterwards became David the Second of Scotland, should be married to Edward's sister, Joan of the Tower, then only in her seventh year; and that certain estates belonging to nobles who had sided with the English, and which had thereby become forfeit, should be restored to them. It was certainly desirable to try to restore peace, on a firm footing, between the two countries; but the treaty was most unpopular with the English,[1] and there were riots in London, when, in compliancē with its provisions, it was attempted, but in vain, to remove and restore the regal stone of Scone. The treaty was supposed by the people, to be the work of Isabella and Mortimer, who were already greatly disliked; partly, on account of Mortimer's insolence; partly, because of the general belief, that they were living an adulterous life together; and partly, because it was commonly thought, that the money, to be paid by Bruce, was destined for their private use.

A.D. 1328.

Treaty unpopular,

partly because it was the work of Mortimer.

Four months after the signing of the treaty, David and Joan were solemnly betrothed at Berwick-on-Tweed.

While the negotiations with Scotland were going on, Edward's father was barbarously murdered; in his prison at Berkeley Castle. This took place on the

Murder of Edward II.

[1] Knighton, col. 2553.

A.D. 1328. 21st of September, while Edward was at Lincoln; but, it is nearly certain, that no suspicion that the event was caused by violence, was then entertained; for the young King took no steps to enquire into the cause of his father's death, and did not hurry the leisurely progress he was making through central England.

Drawn by T. Hosmer. Engraved by H. Le Keux.

EFFIGY OF QUEEN PHILIPPA.

In Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE MARRIAGE OF EDWARD TO THE FALL OF MORTIMER.

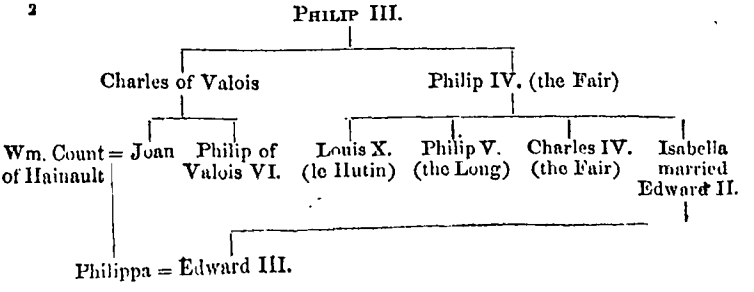
PEACE with Scotland having been settled for a time, another object now occupied young Edward's thoughts. This was his approaching marriage with the niece of Sir John of Hainault. The alliance had been discussed, during the visit of Queen Isabella to the Count of Hainault in 1326,[1] and was further considered while Sir John was in the North of England. The King wrote to the Pope from York on the 15th of August, only a few days after leaving Stanhope, to ask him to grant a dispensation for the marriage. The relationship was somewhat remote, as the Prince and his intended bride were only the great-grandchildren of a common ancestor;[2] but, the Pope's permission was necessary to legalise the marriage. Shortly after Sir John of Hainault's departure,

A.D. 1328.

Edward's marriage with Philippa of Hainault,

[1] Buchon (*Froissart*, vol. i. p. 7, note) shows clearly that Edward did not accompany his mother to Flanders, and therefore the romantic story of his falling in love with Philippa falls to the ground.

[2]



A.D. 1328. a special embassy was sent to his brother William at Valenciennes, to demand his daughter Philippa in marriage for the young King. The Count's consent was readily given, on condition that the Pope granted his dispensation. This was quickly obtained; and then, William de Burghersh, Constable of Dover, and William de Clinton, were sent to Flanders to fetch the bride. Philippa, accompanied by her uncle and numerous attendants—among whom was Walter de Maunay, who came as her *écuyer tranchant*, to serve her at table, and who, as Sir Walter de Maunay, afterwards became renowned as one of the most gallant knights of the time—arrived in London about the beginning of December,[1] and was received with the greatest hospitality by the King and his mother.

on Jan. 24th, 1328. The marriage took place at York, on January 24th, 1328, but the Queen was not crowned until March 4th, 1330.[2] The bridegroom was only a few months more than fifteen years of age, and the bride was still younger; but such early marriages were usual at that time, when the average duration of life among the nobility hardly exceeded forty years.[3]

Soon after the King's marriage, a Parliament was held at Northampton. During its sitting, Edward

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 724; and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 35.

[2] Walsingham, p. 192; Knighton, col. 2552; and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 781.

[3] "On reference to Dugdale's *Baronage*, it will appear that in the middle ages the deaths of a great proportion of the English nobility, even when occasioned by natural causes (for war and pestilence had their full share), occurred under the age of forty; and that their eldest sons, though commonly the offspring of very early marriages, very frequently became wards of the Crown by reason of their minority."—Note by Thomas Amyot, F.R.S., to the "Contemporary Chronicle," *Archæol.* vol. xxii. p. 241.

made claim to the throne of France, and thus, laid the foundations of a war, which never entirely ceased for a hundred years. Almost immediately on his accession, he had sent ambassadors to treat for peace with France;[1] and, on March 31st, 1327, peace was concluded between the two nations, the principal condition being, that France should restore to England certain lands she had recently seized in Aquitaine.[2] This treaty, however, did not prevent Edward from claiming the throne, on the death (Feb. 1st, 1328) of Charles the Fourth (the Fair).[3] There can be no doubt that this claim was contrary to the law of France. It was founded on the fact of his mother being the daughter of Philip the Fourth (the Fair); but, by the Salic Law, which prevailed in France, women could not succeed to the throne, and of course, therefore, could not transmit any right of succession, unless there were no other claimant. A different opinion was, however, maintained, even by some French jurists; and it was in accordance with this opinion that Edward made his demand.[4] Philip of Valois, who succeeded as Philip the Sixth, was the nephew of Philip the Fourth, being the son of his brother, Charles, Count of Valois. Philip the Fourth had three sons, who all became Kings of France: Louis the Tenth, called Le Hutin, or The Quarrelsome; Philip the Fifth, called The Long; and Charles the Fourth, called The Fair.[5] These all died without leaving male issue, and the son of their uncle, Charles of Valois, was therefore, according to the Salic Law, the nearest successor to the throne.

A.D. 1328.

Edward lays claim to the throne of France,

his claim illegal, being founded on descent through the female line.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 693. [2] Ibid. p. 700.
[3] Tyrell's *England*, vol. i. p. 351.
[4] See Sismondi, vol. x. pp. 8 and 10.
[5] See Genealogical Table at page 21.

A.D. 1328. Shortly after this a Parliament was summoned to meet at Salisbury, or New Sarum, as it was then called. It was, probably, intended to submit French affairs to its consideration; but, owing to Mortimer's insolent pride (as presently to be noticed) no business was done, except that the King's brother, John of Eltham, was made Earl of Cornwall, and Mortimer was made Earl of the Marches of Wales.[1]

Edward summons a Parliament, but Mortimer's insolence prevents the transaction of any business.

A struggle, fatal at last to Mortimer, now began between him and the nobles. Mortimer had usurped all power; he never consulted Edward's guardians, and his arrogance exceeded all bounds. But it was not until the King's own uncle, the Earl of Kent, had fallen a victim to Mortimer's ambition, that the nobles prevailed against him. Mortimer's outrageous conduct, at the Salisbury Parliament, was the cause of the first blow which was struck at his power.

Beginning of resistance to Mortimer.

The nobles had been forbidden to go to that Parliament, attended, as was often the case in those turbulent times, by their armed vassals. Mortimer set himself above this order, and came, surrounded by his retinue in arms. The King's cousin, Henry Earl of Lancaster, and other nobles, hearing of this, did not dare to trust themselves within his power, and halted therefore at Winchester. The bishops and prelates, nevertheless, met together, and during their deliberations, Mortimer broke into their chamber with his armed men, threatening them with loss of life and limb, if they did anything contrary to his pleasure. He then proposed to the young King to march to Winchester, and seize the nobles who had absented themselves.[2] The King refused, and Parlia-

His violence at the Salisbury Parliament.

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 229.

[2] Rot. Parl. 4, 5, and 6 Ed. III. No. 1, m. 7.

ment broke up. The barons, both spiritual and temporal, were now determined to submit no longer to Mortimer's tyranny, and a certain number, of whom the chief were the late King's two brothers, the Earls of Norfolk and Kent, with the Earl of Lancaster, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Winchester, banded themselves together to call him to account. But Mortimer's time had not yet come. A.D. 1328

The nobles band themselves together against Mortimer.

The confederates met in London, just before Christmas, but Lancaster was accidentally absent. He was involved in suspicious circumstances about the murder of one of his brothers' enemies, and had to clear himself. Sir Thomas Wyther, who had been a partisan of Thomas, late Earl of Lancaster, suspected Robert Lord Holland of having deserted the Earl, and of having thereby caused his death; meeting him by chance in Henley Wood, near Windsor, Sir Thomas murdered him, and cut off his head, which he carried to the Earl Henry. He thought the Earl would be pleased, at his having taken revenge on a man, whom he looked on as a traitor to his brother. It is doubtful whether Henry of Lancaster was a party to the murder; but he protected the murderer, and thereby laid himself open to suspicions, from which it was necessary to clear himself, before he could join the barons who were planning Mortimer's ruin. Having at last done so, he met the confederates at St. Paul's, where it was agreed to issue a manifesto, setting forth their charges against Mortimer. These were, principally, the murder of the late King, the seizure of his treasures, the unsatisfactory peace with Scotland, and the usurping the Government into his own hands. Mortimer, however, succeeded in persuading the young King, that it was against

They meet in London, but Lancaster is absent;

the cause of his absence,

he joins the barons, who agree as to certain charges against Mortimer,

A.D. 1328. him that the barons were plotting; they were glad, therefore, to avail themselves of the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and make peace with Mortimer, by the sacrifice of half their lands.[1] Mortimer thus baffled their designs, and made himself safe for a time; but, until he had brought the Earl of Kent to the scaffold, he felt no security.

but Mortimer baffles their designs.

It was soon after this discomfiture of Mortimer's enemies, that it became necessary for Edward to decide, what measures he would take, relative to his claim to the throne of France. Philip of Valois, almost immediately after his coronation, was engaged in war with the Flemings, and was thereby prevented from summoning Edward to do him homage for his possessions in France, of which Philip was feudal lord. Louis I. Count of Flanders had deceived the Flemings as to their political liberties, and the citizens of Bruges, Ypres, and Le Franc—a part of Flanders comprising Dunkirk, Gravelines, and other towns—had consequently risen against him, and driven him to Ghent, where he dwelt in but little safety.[2] He attended the coronation of Philip with great pomp, and took the opportunity of asking Philip, to assist him in putting down his rebellious subjects.

The King of France delays to summon Edward to do homage because of his war with the Flemings;

Philip promised him his support, for he was jealous of the liberty enjoyed by the trading Flemings, and was glad of an opportunity of giving them such a lesson, as might teach his own subjects,[3] that merchants and tradesmen—who were now, to the disgust of many rulers, becoming of increased importance in their kingdoms—should not, with impunity, entertain ideas of political independence. Another reason also

[1] Rot. Parl. 4, 5, 6 Ed. III. No. 1, m. 7.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 39. [3] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 18.

induced Philip to listen willingly to Louis's request. A.D.1328.
It enabled him, to call together his numerous vassals, and make them recognise his authority. These vassals, too, were glad to engage in a war, the object of which was the repression of the growing pretensions of burghers and citizens, and the manifestation of the superiority of chivalry to plebeian strength, or, as it might not unfairly be described, of cavalry as against infantry.[1] They therefore gladly obeyed the summons, and in August defeated the Flemings at Cassel, with fearful slaughter, but, only after a narrow escape, of being themselves defeated by the despised burghers. On his return from this expedition, Philip sent Peter Roger, Abbot of Fécamp, who afterwards became Pope Clement the Sixth, to summon Edward to do him homage.[2] To this summons Edward paid no attention; in February of the following year (1329), therefore, Philip sent two seigneurs to England, accompanied by two lawyers, to repeat his summons. They landed at Dover, and after a day's rest, mounted their horses and rode to Windsor, where the King then was. The King received them with due honour, and told them, that, if they would go to London, he would there give them an answer. The King then entertained them at dinner, after which they rode to Colnbrook, where they slept, and the next day reached London. The King soon followed them, and immediately ordered that the Sarum Parliament, which

he defeats them, and then summons Edward,

he repeats the summons.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 19.

[2] The exact date of this summons is not to be ascertained, but it must have been either at the time when Philip summoned his vassals to his standard, or, more probably, on his victorious return.—See Sismondi, vol. x. p. 26; and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 42, note.

A.D. 1329. had been adjourned to the 9th of February, should assemble at Westminster, but, being for some reason unable himself to be present, two Commissioners were appointed to take his place.[1] It was decided that Philip's summons should be obeyed; the French lords departed, and on the 14th of April the King wrote to Philip to say that the troubles of his kingdom, which were not yet over, had hitherto prevented him from doing homage, but that he would now do so without delay.[2] Isabella and Mortimer had at this time gained a temporary advantage over the barons, but they had by no means mastered them, and they were therefore afraid as yet to involve the nation in a foreign war. A secret protest was however recorded, that in doing homage to the King of France, Edward did not thereby intend to renounce his claim to the French throne.[3]

Edward agrees to do homage,

but secretly protests that he does not renounce his claim to the throne.

Great preparations were made by the King of France, for the reception of the young King of England at Amiens; and it was of course determined by the latter, that he should appear with as much pomp and majesty as the King of France. On the 26th of May, after borrowing 5,000 marks from the Bardi, Edward sailed from England, having appointed his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, Regent of the kingdom during his absence.[4] He took over with him a great number of nobles, and one thousand horses; and on the day appointed for doing homage (June the 6th) he appeared before the King of France in a robe of crimson velvet, embroidered with leopards of

Edward goes to France.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 756. [2] Ibid. p. 760.

[3] Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*, continued by Odoricus Raynaldus. Edition 1750, vol. xxv. p. 203.

[4] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 763, 764.

gold, his crown on his head, his sword by his side, and gold spurs on his heels. The King of France received him with equal pomp. He sat on his throne, crowned in like manner; his sceptre in his hand, and clothed in blue velvet, powdered with *fleurs-de-lis* of gold.[1] There now arose a dispute, as to the form in which homage should be done. The King of France demanded a liege, or full homage, which was done bare-headed and with sword ungirt. But Edward refused, and would do homage only in general terms. Philip accepted this, on condition, that, on his return to England, Edward would consult his records; and that, if he found that liege homage was due, he would send over letters-patent of it.

A.D. 1329.

He appears before the king in great state.

Philip receives him in equal state.

Dispute as to the form of homage.

Settled by compromise.

But there was also another dispute. Edward demanded the restitution of, and consequent reception of homage for, certain territories in France, which had been taken from his father by Charles IV.; but this was refused, on the ground that they had been acquired by right of war. At length, however, it was agreed, that Edward should do homage for only those parts of France which he held, and that if on his return to England, he found that he had thereby done himself a wrong, he should make complaint thereof to the Parliament of Paris.[2] The Bishop of Lincoln, who accompanied the King, then orally protested that "whatever the King of England, or anybody for him, might do, he (the King) did not intend to renounce any right he had, or ought to have, in the Duchy of Guienne or in its belongings, and that by his acts, the King of France did not acquire any new rights."

Edward does homage under protest.

[1] Barnes, p. 36.

[2] *Contin. Chron. Guil. de Nangis.* D. L. D'Achery's *Spicilegium.* Tom. iii. Paris, 1723.

A.D. 1329. The oath.

The oath was then tendered in the following form: "Sire! you become Man of the King of France my Lord, in respect of the Duchy of Guienne and its belongings, which you acknowledge to hold of him, as Duke of Guienne and Peer of France, according to the form of the peace made by your ancestors and those of the King of France, in the same manner as your ancestors, Kings of England and Dukes of Guienne, have done for the said Duchy to the previous Kings of France." The King of England answered "*Voire*" (truly). The Chamberlain of France, the Viscount de Melun, then said, "The King of France, our lord, receives you, save and except his protestations," and the King of France answered "*Voire.*" The King of England then put his hands between the hands of the King of France, and the King of France kissed his mouth, according to the forms prescribed by the feudal system.[1]

Edward returns to England.

This was not a satisfactory conclusion, as it left much open for future dispute; but it was all that could be accomplished, and Edward returned to England, where he arrived on June 11th. He went at once to Windsor, and he gave his young Queen a glowing account of his reception, and of France, with which, like a boy, he declared no country could be compared.[2] The young King, in the fulness of his youthful delight, then made a proposal for the marriage of his sister Eleanor to the eldest son of the King of France, and also for a marriage between John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, and one of the daughters of Philip.[3] Neither of these marriages, however, took place.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 765. [2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 45.
[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 766.

Four days before King Edward returned to England died Robert Bruce, that great King of Scotland, who, after fourteen years of constant struggles, had achieved the entire independence of his kingdom, and now left his undisputed crown to his young son, David (the Second), who was affianced to the sister of the King of England. A.D. 1329. Death of Bruce, on June 7th.

On Edward's return from France, he was in no hurry to keep his promises to Philip, who therefore sent over ambassadors to remind him. They remained in England for nearly a year, during which time, events of great importance took place there. Ambassadors arrive from France about the homage.

After baffling the designs of the Earl of Lancaster and the barons, Mortimer's arrogance had become greater than ever, and none dared openly to oppose him. He knew, however, that the Earl of Kent was watching an opportunity to destroy him; he therefore managed, with the assent and help of the Queen, to prejudice the young King against him, by persuading him that his uncle wished to poison him.[1] He then proceeded to trepan the Earl into committing high treason. For this purpose, he caused a report to be widely spread, that Edward the Second was still alive, and closely confined in Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire.[2] He also contrived, that two persons should go, in a secret manner, to the Earl of Kent, and inform him of this, while others told him that a large number of influential persons were ready to join in a plot, to release and restore the late King. The Earl of Kent fell into the snare. He went to the neighbourhood of Corfe Castle, to inquire into the truth of the report. Mortimer had taken care Mortimer resolves to ruin the Earl of Kent. He spreads false reports as to Edward II. being still alive,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 40.

[2] Rot. Parl. 4, 5, 6 Ed. III. No. 1, m. 7.

A.D. 1329. that everyone in the neighbourhood should believe the story; and, indeed, the governor of the castle had pretended to show the King to a friar, whom the Earl had sent to make enquiries, and who of course convinced him that it was true. He went therefore to the governor of the castle, and asked leave to see his prisoner. The governor, a creature of Mortimer's, made difficulties; but offered to convey to the supposed King a letter, which his brother, the Earl, had written to him. Of course this letter was at once sent to Mortimer, who lost no time in turning it to account.[1]

and thereby deludes the Earl of Kent into the commission of high treason.

A.D. 1330. A Parliament had assembled at Winchester, to consider the relations with France;[2] but it consisted only of Mortimer's creatures, for the nobles in general, recollecting Mortimer's conduct at the Salisbury Parliament, kept away. On the 11th of March, the Earl of Kent was brought before this Parliament, charged with high treason. He could not deny the charge. Mortimer had so skilfully laid his plans that the Earl was completely deceived, and had, on the occasion of his visiting the Pope at Avignon relative to the canonization of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, consulted him as to the steps he should take relative to his brother, whom he believed to be alive and imprisoned in Corfe Castle. The Pope commanded him to do his utmost to release the deposed monarch, and accordingly, on his return to England, the Earl entered into a plot for that purpose.[3]

Mortimer charges the Earl of Kent with high treason before a packed Parliament.

The Earl was condemned to death, and it was of vital importance that there should be no delay in

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*, p. 229; and Murimuth, p. 61.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 783.

[3] Barnes, p. 40.—The Earl's confession is related in a letter from Edward to the Pope, written to explain the reasons why the Earl was put to death. (Rymer, vol. ii. p. 783.)

carrying the sentence into execution. The nobles might hear of what was going on and release him, and so, eight days after he had been brought to trial, he was beheaded at Winchester. It was difficult to find a man, as executioner, to do the bloody deed. From morning till evening, the poor Earl was kept waiting in suspense; at last, a criminal from the Marshalsea was found, who, under promise that his own life should be spared, consented to be the executioner.[1] But the death of the Earl of Kent did not put a stop to the reports, that Edward the Second was still alive, and murmurings at his execution became general. Mortimer, therefore, in the King's name, ordered it to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, that whosoever spread such reports, or uttered complaints as to the execution of the Earl of Kent, should be sent to prison; he also ordered diligent enquiries to be made, as to the names of those who were confederates of the Earl, in order that all who were discovered might be imprisoned.[2]

A.D. 1330.

The Earl is found guilty and condemned to death,

and executed.

For a few short months Mortimer now revelled in fancied security. He set no bounds to his covetousness or his pride: he obtained a grant of a great part of the Earl's forfeited estates, and of greater portions, than he had before possessed, of the lands of the Despencers. He held, in Royal fashion, round tables, or tournaments,[3] and conducted himself altogether with such vanity and insolence, that his own son called him the King of Folly. "He would suffer the

Mortimer's boundless arrogance.

[1] Knighton, col. 2556; and Walsingham, p. 192.

[2] April 13, 1330, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 787.

[3] Avesbury, p. 7, "Rotundam tabulam per plures dies tenuit." The term "Round Table" is often indiscriminately used, to express either the tournament or jousting; or, the feasting at the actual round table which always followed.

A.D. 1330. King to rise to him, and would walk with the King equally, step by step, and cheek by cheek, never preferring the King, but would go foremost himself with his officers." He never stirred abroad, without a much larger train than the King himself, having constantly one hundred and eighty knights in his retinue, besides a greater number of esquires and other followers, either by way of parade, or for the safety of his person.[1] The disgust of the barons, and their hatred of Mortimer, were thereby greatly aggravated; but they were obliged to stifle their resentment, for a time.

Mortimer's career, however, was nearly run. Three months after the execution of his uncle, Edward became a father, and this event seemed suddenly to rouse him to independent action. His firstborn child, Edward, afterwards called the Black Prince, and who was the first Duke of Cornwall,[2] was born at Woodstock on the 15th of June, his father being then only seventeen years and seven months old.

Birth of Edward, the Black Prince.

The King was now approaching man's estate, and determined to shake off his subjection to Mortimer. Doubtless he had learned, that Mortimer was suspected of having ordered the murder of his father; he must also have felt indignant at Mortimer's intimacy with his mother, who was even said to be with child by him;[3] and Mortimer's usurpation of kingly power, and the murder (for so it may justly be called) of the King's uncle the Earl of Kent, were of themselves enough to rouse the youthful sovereign to an assertion

[1] Stow's *Annals*, p. 229.

[2] See *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 337, for an account of the conversion of the Earldom of Cornwall into a Duchy.

[3] Froissart, vol. i. p. 41.

of his rights, and to a resolution to call the offender to account. He consulted a young friend, William Lord Montacute, and arranged with him a plan for the seizure of Mortimer. Montacute's friendship with Edward, was naturally increased, by the valuable aid he lent him on this occasion, and Edward, shortly afterwards, appointed him his seneschal in Aquitaine;[1] gave up to him, all his rights and claims over the Isle of Man;[2] and, having, as he himself says, found him "strenuous in arms, provident in counsel, useful and faithful in all things," gave him leave to hunt one day in each year in any of his forests.[3] Not content with all these favours, he afterwards, repeating the recognition of his valuable services, made over to him the forests of Selkirk and Ettrick, and the county and town of Peebles.[4]

A.D. 1330.

The King is resolved to free himself from Mortimer,

Parliaments used, in those days, to be held, annually, soon after Michaelmas, and one being summoned to meet at Nottingham on the 15th of October, it was determined to take that opportunity of carrying the plot into execution. Queen Isabella and Mortimer, however, suspected some design against them; on arriving at Nottingham before the King, therefore, they took possession of the castle, and made careful arrangements for their security. When the King reached Nottingham, he was admitted to the castle; but, only three or four of his servants were allowed to enter with him. The Earl of Lancaster, and the other great men, were refused admittance; they were therefore obliged to take up their lodgings about a mile from the town. In order to carry the plan into execution, it was necessary to secure the help of Sir William Eland,

and arranges a plan for his seizure

at Nottingham.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 845.
[2] Ibid. p. 868.
[3] Ibid. p. 909.
[4] Ibid. p. 924.

A.D. 1330. the governor of the castle. The King and his friends, finding him quite ready to help them, proposed that

The governor of the castle

he should open the gates of the castle to them at night. Sir William said this was impossible; as the Queen had had new locks put on all the gates, and the keys were laid under her pillow every night.

agrees to admit the King and his friends by a secret passage.

But he told them of a subterranean passage, which led, from the chief tower, into a cave on the west side of the castle, made by some Saxon prince during the Danish invasions, which was unknown to the Queen and her attendants, and through this passage, since called Mortimer's Hole, Eland proposed to admit them.

On Friday, October 19th, the conspirators, accompanied by Sir William Eland, took horse, and rode away from Nottingham, in order to deceive Mortimer; he either knew or suspected their plot, thought they had got alarmed, and had fled to escape his vengeance. But at midnight, while Mortimer was in consultation with the Bishop of Lincoln and others, the young King, accompanied by his friends, burst into his chamber, and after a slight resistance made him prisoner.[1] Some of Mortimer's attendants were killed in the struggle, and Montacute and his companions became, consequently, liable to trial for murder. Edward therefore afterwards obtained from Parliament an act of indemnity, freeing them from all such consequences.[2] The next morning, Simon de Bereford, and others of Mortimer's adherents, were seized, and all were sent prisoners to the Tower of London. On the same day, the King issued a proclamation, stating that the government had been carried on in a way that was dishonourable to himself

Mortimer and his friends are seized,

and sent to the Tower.

[1] Knighton, cols. 2555–6; Stow, p. 229.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 830.

and to his kingdom; that he had arrested Mortimer, Sir Oliver de Ingham, and Sir Simon de Bereford, who were the principal movers in these ill-doings; and, that he had consequently taken the government into his own hands.[1] Shortly afterwards, he issued writs for the meeting of a Parliament at Westminster on the 26th of November, promising redress of grievances. To this, he invited all who had grievances against the government, arising from the evil practices of "those who were his ministers;" and he went on to say that, whereas "certain knights, who had come to Parliament as representatives of counties, were men of covine and maintainers of false quarrels,"[2] who would not suffer the grievances of the people to be brought forward, he ordered the sheriffs to cause to be elected, with the common consent of the county, two of the most proper and sufficient knights or serjeants of the county, who were not liable to suspicion of being actuated by such motives.[3] It is remarkable, that this Parliament was summoned to meet somewhat hurriedly, that is, in thirty-one days[4] instead of forty "at least," as prescribed by the 14th article of Magna Charta; this was probably caused, by the anxiety of the King to bring the traitors at once to judgment.

A.D. 1330.

Edward summons a Parliament

for the trial of Mortimer.

Mortimer was charged by the King before the Peers in this Parliament, with usurping Royal power, murdering King Edward the Second, appearing with force

The charges against Mortimer.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 799.

[2] That is, men who made deceitful compacts to the prejudice of others, and who received bribes for supporting false claims.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 800.

[4] Parry's *Parliaments and Councils*, p. 95 (note).

A.D.1330. and in arms at the Parliament at Salisbury, contriving the death of the Earl of Kent, obtaining from the King the grant of numerous castles and other possessions in decrease of the revenues of the crown, and with appropriating to himself, the King's treasure and the payment from the Scots.[1]

It is to be observed, that, in the Record of the Proceedings of this Parliament, the presence of the Commons is not mentioned; although it is clear that they were elected and that they attended,[2] since the Statutes were passed, at the request of the Commons.[3] This may probably have been, because the Commons were necessarily excluded from the proceedings against Mortimer, as having nothing to do with them, a Peer having the right to claim trial by Peers only. The Peers, among whom the Earls and Barons were included, acted therefore on this business as a distinct body, separate and apart from the Commons, although they were not then, as now, systematically separated.

Parliament condemns Mortimer to death.

As judges of Parliament, they gave their judgment as follows:[4] "The earls, barons, and peers, having examined the articles, returned to the King, and said all, by one of the peers, that the things contained in the articles were notorious, and known to them and to the people, and particularly an article touching the death of the King's father; for which, the said earls, barons, and peers, as Judges of the Parliament, by assent of the King in the same Parliament, awarded and adjudged that Roger, as traitor and enemy of the King, and of the kingdom,

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. pp. 52 and 53.
[2] *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 301.
[3] Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 261.
[4] *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 299.

should be drawn and hanged; and the Earl Marshal was commanded to do execution of that judgment."[1] A.D. 1330.

Mortimer, accordingly, was executed on Thursday Nov. 29th at "the Elms,"[2] now called Tyburn. This judgment was reversed twenty-four years afterwards as illegal; because judgment was given without trial, and also, perhaps, for want of a lawful Presentment of the offence to warrant such trial.[3] He is hung at Tyburn. The sentence illegal.

The King then commanded the earls, barons, and peers to give judgment on Sir Simon de Bereford, Knight, as aiding and abetting Mortimer. They however answered, that Bereford was not their peer, and that therefore they could not sit in judgment on him; but, as his guilt was notorious, they, as Judges of Parliament, by assent of the King, awarded and judged that he should be drawn and hanged. This sentence was carried into effect.[4] A similar judgment was then pronounced against John Mautravers, for having been a party to the death of the Earl of Kent, by telling him that Edward the Second was still living; and also, against others, who were concerned in the death of the late King; rewards were offered for their apprehension, dead or alive. These judgments were all clearly illegal. It was therefore especially agreed, that this act of the peers should not be considered as a precedent,[5] and some of the judgments were subsequently reversed. Thomas de Berkeley, accused "in full parliament" of being implicated in the murder of Edward the Second, "put himself on his country," and was consequently tried by a jury of twelve men, Parliament condemns Simon de Bereford also to death, but this sentence also illegal.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 53. [2] Ibid. 4 Ed. III. No. 1 (m. 1).
[3] See *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 298.
[4] Rot. Parl. 4 Ed. III. No. 2 (m. 2).
[5] Ibid. Nos. 3, 4, 5, and 6; and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 801.

A.D. 1330. who acquitted him; but, inasmuch as he had placed, as keepers under him, the men who had murdered Edward the Second, he was ordered to appear before the King in his next Parliament, to receive judgment.[1] The Queen Dowager herself, was evidently considered a party to the murder of her husband, and was consequently kept in a kind of honourable confinement at Castle Rising in Norfolk, where her son visited her two or three times a year. She was allowed £1,000 a year for her maintenance.[2]

Matters of importance settled by this parliament.

There were other matters of importance settled by this Parliament. The son and widow of the Earl of Kent were fully restored to their possessions and dignities; and all who had been implicated with him, together with the Earl of Lancaster and those who had joined with him in resisting Mortimer, received full pardon. Keepers of the Peace, who had been appointed by Mortimer, and who afterwards became Justices, were re-appointed; the laws against purveyors were confirmed; and the regulation of trade, which was so marked a characteristic of legislation at that time, was undertaken in various ways. The prices, at which horsemen and footmen should be carried across the sea from Dover, and at which wine should be sold, were settled; and the punishment, to be inflicted on those who sold "corrupt" wines, was defined.[3] It was also ordered that "a Parliament should be holden every year once, or more often if need be."[4]

Keepers, afterwards Justices, of the Peace appointed; the laws against purveyors confirmed; and trade regulated.

[1] Rot. Parl. No. 16; and see remarks on this Parliament in general in *Report on Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 301, &c.

[2] "Mille libras," Walsingham, p. 193; "tria millia marcarum," Knighton, col. 2556, and Froissart, vol. i. p. 41.

[3] Stat. 4 Ed. III. caps. 2, 3, 4, 8, and 12.

[4] Stat. 4 Ed. III. c. 14.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISPUTE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

SHORTLY after the execution of Mortimer, the long-standing dispute with France, as to the exact form of homage, which had been left unsettled in 1329, when Edward did homage under a kind of protest, was brought to an end; and the fulfilment of the conditions of the peace made in 1327, was insisted on by Philip. In order, however, clearly to understand these transactions, it is necessary, to explain, more fully, the history of the disputes between the two countries, from the latter part of the reign of Edward the Second till the fall of Mortimer. A.D. 1330. Settlement of the disputes with France.

During that reign, Charles the Fourth made great efforts, to compel Edward, as Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Ponthieu, fully and publicly to acknowledge his sovereignty over those territories; and, in 1322, he annoyed Edward, by directing his seneschals to cite various Gascon lords to appear before their tribunals, and thus entrap them into an inferential admission of dependence on the French Crown. The dispute between the two monarchs, was aggravated by a quarrel as to the erection, in Agenois, on what was alleged to be French territory, of a castle, called Sanctus Sacerdos, by the Lord of Montpezat. This was taken possession of by the French, but retaken by the Lord of Montpezat; Charles consequently sent his uncle, Charles of Valois, to invade Aquitaine. Summary of history of the dispute.

A.D.1330. Valois conquered the greater part of Guienne, and besieged the Earl of Kent, whom Edward the Second had sent over either to negotiate or fight as might be found advisable, in the castle of La Réole. Edward became alarmed, and sent his wife Isabella to negotiate with her brother. It was soon settled that Edward should give him provisional possession of the whole of Guienne; under promise, that all Aquitaine, except Agenois, should be restored to him on his doing homage, but that Edward should sue for Agenois in the French Courts of Law, and that if it should be decided that that province was to be restored to him, he should pay the King of France a certain sum of money. Edward prepared to go to France for these purposes, but was prevented from doing so by the Despencers; they feared to trust him out of their sight, and to place him in the power of his wife, and of Mortimer who was with her in Paris. It was consequently arranged, that his son should go in his stead, and it thus became necessary, to transfer to him the possession of Aquitaine and Ponthieu. This was done; young Edward did homage, and Aquitaine was given back to him; but, according to the agreement, Agenois was withheld. Notwithstanding this arrangement, however, war was about to break out between England and France, when the deposition of Edward the Second changed the policy of England, and Edward the Third, soon after his accession, made the treaty of peace with France which has been previously mentioned.

All Aquitaine except Agenois restored to Edward the Second.

Peace with France, March 31st, 1327. This peace was settled on March 31st, 1327; its conditions were, that each should restore to the other the conquests recently made; that Edward should destroy certain Gascon fortresses; and, that

he should pay the King of France the sum of 50,000 marks.[1] In the following year (1328), on January 13th, Charles died, and, notwithstanding the treaty of peace so recently made between the two countries, Edward, mindful of his claim to the French throne, at once wrote (March 28th) to the seneschal of Gascony, to various Gascon lords, and to the lords of Navarre, to say that he intended to recover his rights and heritages, and those of his mother, by all means in his power; he told them to communicate secretly with the various nobles and others, and to enlist them on his side;[2] and, on the 16th May, he sent over the Bishops of Worcester and Chester, to demand and receive all his rights and possessions in France.[3] He also opened negotiations, for an alliance with the Duke of Brabant and the Count of Los, and made arrangements as to soldiers to be furnished him by the Duke.[4] At the same time he fortified the Channel Islands, and ordered his seneschals to treat with other lords of Aquitaine, for help in "recovering his rights" both in France and Aquitaine, promising them indemnity against losses, and that he would make no peace with France without including them.[5] In short, he proceeded to make active preparations for supporting his claim by force of arms.

A.D. 1330.

But yet Edward prepares to claim the French throne.

It was after this, as already related, that Philip, on his return from the victory at Cassel, first summoned Edward to do him homage. Notwithstanding their having counselled Edward to take so bold a course as to claim the throne of France, Mortimer and

Edward summoned to do homage;

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 700. [2] Ibid. p. 736. [3] Ibid p. 743.
[4] Ibid. p. 744, June 9th, and p. 749, August 2nd.
[5] September 16th, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 750.

A.D. 1330. Isabella were afraid to advise him to renounce his fealty to Philip and defy him; they managed, therefore, to stave off an answer to the summons for some months. But, early in the following year, 1329, Philip again summoned Edward; he then thought it advisable to obey the summons, and went to France to perform the required homage.

he staves off promised enquiry into the proper form of homage.

Soon after Edward's return (on June 11th, 1329), as before related, Philip sent over ambassadors[1] to take part in the investigations as to the form of homage due from Edward, as Duke of Aquitaine, to the King of France, which Edward had promised to institute immediately he arrived in England. Mortimer was still unwilling, either openly to oppose Philip's demands or to yield to them, and by various devices, such as amusing them with a tournament in Cheapside,[2] he managed to keep the ambassadors in England till the following spring, before giving them any definite answer.[3] The negotiations for a marriage between Edward's sister and Philip's son, and between Edward's brother, John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, and one of Philip's daughters, were also continued,[4] and amicable communications with France were thus constantly kept on foot. In the meanwhile, the castles and territories taken by each party, and agreed by the treaty of 1327 to be given up, were not restored; the English in Aquitaine prepared for war, filled Saintes, a frontier town in Saintonge, with soldiers, and the King of France sent his brother, the Count of Alençon, to watch the frontiers.

Treaty of 1327 not fulfilled, and war on the point of breaking out.

[1] Froissart, vol i. p. 45. [2] Stow, p. 230.

[3] Froissart, vol. i. p. 45.

[4] September 24th, 1329, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 773; January 17th, 1330, ibid. p. 777; April 10th, 1330, ibid. p. 785.

Alençon exceeded his orders, attacked Saintes and took it, and war was on the point of breaking out between the two countries.[1] At a Parliament held at Eltham in February, the King asked for a subsidy to enable him to carry on the war in case the King of France should refuse "all reasonable ways of peace." This was granted by the earls and barons, but was refused by the prelates, because the archbishops were absent, and the King therefore wrote to the archbishops from Winchester, on March 18th, urgently pressing them to call all the clergy together to grant their portion of the required subsidy.[2] On April 30th, Edward made excuses for not attending the French Parliament, as he had promised; he next repudiated Philip's jurisdiction, and ordered ships to be got ready to convey troops to Aquitaine. The Earl of Cornwall was then directed to go to the Duchy to bring matters to a settlement;[3] but, singularly enough, certain commissioners, appointed by the Eltham Parliament on the 5th February[4] to make an amicable treaty with France, and whose powers were confirmed by the King on the 10th April,[5] were all this while busily employed in endeavouring to settle matters in a friendly way; at last their efforts were crowned with success. A treaty was concluded at Bois-de-Vincennes on May 1st, 1330, by which it was agreed that the castles and palaces, about which there had been so much dispute, should be restored or destroyed, and that commissioners should be appointed to superintend the carrying out of the conditions of the peace made at the beginning of the reign.[6] But the question of

A.D. 1330.

Parliament grants Edward a subsidy.

His preparations for war.

Peace suddenly made.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 50.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 783.
[3] Ibid. pp. 785, 778 and 779.
[4] Ibid. p. 778.
[5] Ibid. p. 785.
[6] Ibid. p. 792.

A.D. 1330. homage, which was of the greatest importance as being the origin of all the disputes, was still left unsettled, and very nearly produced a rupture between the two countries.

But the question of homage left unsettled.

The Earl of Cornwall went to France at the end of May, and in the beginning of June the Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry and of Norwich, John Walwayn, Canon of Hereford, and John of Shoreditch and Thomas Sampson, professors of Civil Law, were appointed as the English Commissioners.[1] They had no instructions however to enquire into the question of homage, but only to make arrangements for the restitution of the conquered territories on either side, and Edward was consequently summoned, to do full and liege homage for Guienne, at the Paris Parliament on the 29th of July. He did not appear, and, therefore, on the 1st of September, Philip summoned him to do so on the 15th of December.[2] It was at this time that Mortimer was getting into trouble, and was evidently undecided what course to take. Immediately on the King's arrival at Nottingham, on the 20th of September, Mortimer induced him to write to the Pope, stating that he believed that the King of France was preparing for war with England, and begging for his intercession; on the same day he wrote to the seneschals of Guienne to inform them of the negotiations that had been going on between England and France, and to state that the King of France had rejected all reasonable proposals. He then went on to say that if the King of France should attempt to "make executions" in Guienne without employing force, they were to "dissimulate" and pro-

Edward again summoned to do homage.

Mortimer advises fresh excuses;

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 793–4. [2] Ibid. p. 797.

crastinate so as to gain time, but that if he employed force they were to resist with force. It was necessary, however, to provide for the payment of the soldiers employed, and he promised to see to this at the Parliament to be held at Nottingham on the 15th of October.[1] A.D. 1330.

The execution of Mortimer on the 29th of November again changed the policy of England. On January 16th, 1331, "amicable" negotiations on the question of homage were resumed;[2] on the 30th of March the King agreed that the homage he had done the King of France should be considered full and liege homage, and he explicitly stated its exact form for future observance.[3] Shortly afterwards, the King went to France with Lord Montacute, John Stratford Bishop of Winchester (who had been appointed Lord Chancellor at the end of the previous November), and a few other of his intimate personal friends, in a private way, "with scarce fifteen horsemen," disguised as merchants.[4] What could have been the real object of this singular proceeding it is difficult to divine, but it is said to have been taken under colour of performing a vow; it was probably intended however thereby to make an opportunity for settling all disputes with Philip, for during Edward's sojourn in France he arranged that Philip should restore to him the castle of Saintes, and should pay him the

A.D. 1331.

but on his death form of homage agreed on.

Edward visits the King of France secretly.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 798. [2] Ibid. p. 805.

[3] Ibid. p. 813; and Froissart, vol. i. p. 45.

[4] Stow, p. 230, who erroneously states this journey to have taken place in 1330. Edward sailed from Dover on April 4th, 1331, on the same day he appointed his brother, John of Eltham, *custos* in his absence, and on the 20th of April he returned. (Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 814, 815, 818; and Walsingham, p. 193.)

A.D. 1331. sum of 30,000 livres tournois for the damages done to it in excess of his instructions by his brother the Count of Alençon. Philip also admitted that Edward's explanation as to homage was sufficient.

Peace proclaimed. Peace between England and France was soon afterwards proclaimed in Gascony, and proposals were actually made for the betrothal of Edward's infant son, then just one year old, to one of Philip's daughters;[1] but it is remarkable that the question as to the restitution of Agenois still remained unsettled, and in the Parliament held in the following autumn, it was seriously considered whether this, and some other questions which seem to have been still left undecided, should be brought to a conclusion by force of arms or by amicable treaty. The latter course was chosen by an unanimous decision.[2]

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 821 and 822, and Rapin, vol. i. p. 412.

[2] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 61.—"Les queux Prelatz, &c., respondirent . . . eant regard as perils poeient avenir par les deux voies, c'est assaver d'entrer en proces, ou la guerre. Qe ñre Seign. le Roi d'Engleterre y preist amiable Trete od le Roi de France des busoignes susdites. Et on mesme le Parlement si faust accorde . . . continuance se face de p ñre Seignur le Roi de amiable Trete . . . par restitution avoir de la terre de Ageneys et le droit de la Corone sauver."

CHAPTER IV.

RESTORATION OF ORDER IN ENGLAND, AND WAR WITH SCOTLAND IN SUPPORT OF BALIOL.

KING EDWARD was now firmly seated on the throne. No unprincipled minister or profligate mother controlled his actions; his Queen had brought him a son and heir; the difficulties with France were settled for a time, and there was an interval of peace with Scotland. Edward, therefore, on his return from France, had nothing to do but, with the help of his advisers, to re-establish order and restore the supremacy of the law in England. A.D. 1331. Edward firmly seated on the throne.

At this time, and for a long period subsequently, the King's private advisers were called his Council. The Ministry of modern times, responsible to Parliament, and of which a select portion is called the Cabinet, did not exist before 1693.[1] From the time of Edward the First, the King's advisers were called the Council or Privy Council, which was "no other than the King's Court[2] (Curia Regis) of older times, being composed of the same persons, and having, in a principal degree, the same subjects of deliberation." It was a numerous body, consisting of about twenty members, and when they were all called together it was a full Council; but in ordinary cases, only those deemed Machinery of government. The King's Council, or the Privy Council.

[1] Macaulay's *History of England*, ch. xx.

[2] See *Lectures on History of England*, vol. i. p. 114.

A.D. 1331. fittest to advise were summoned. It is not clear, however, to whom was assigned the duty of summoning. The Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Steward, the Lord Admiral, and others, were among the principal members of the Council. Its duties were assumed to be both legislative and judicial; but, the exercise of the first was regarded with a proper jealousy by Parliament, so soon as the Council began to feel and exercise its power. "In the reigns of Edward the First and Edward the Second, the Council appear to have been the regular advisers of the King in passing laws, to which the Houses of Parliament had assented." "But from the beginning of Edward the Third's reign, it seems that the Council and the Lords' house in Parliament were often blended together in one assembly," which was called the Great Council, to which the King's ordinary Council was attached. "Parliament was also considered to some extent as a high court of justice, where relief was given in cases where the course of law was obstructed, as well as where it was defective."[1] This was notably the case in the proceedings against Mortimer and others in 1330.

The Great Council.

The members of the Council or Privy Council were thus the King's ordinary advisers; but, on account of the King's youth, a special adviser was considered necessary, and the Bishop of London was selected "to be with him constantly, to advise him with the aid of the Chancellor, Treasurer, and others."[2] There can, however, be but little doubt that his early friend, Lord Chancellor Stratford, exercised the greatest influence over him.

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8vo. (ed. 1841), vol. ii. pp. 269–74.

[2] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 62 (15).

There were at this time some disturbances in Ireland, and the King wished to visit that country, in order to put them down; but Parliament advised that he should not go, until the lawless state of England, which had arisen while Mortimer ruled the country, had been reformed.[1] Armed men infested the courts of justice, and endeavoured to overawe the judges.[2] Great numbers of men banded themselves together in large bodies, living in woods and forests, robbing all persons that came in their way,[3] seizing even the King's judges, and extorting money from them by way of ransom; and the nobles, instead of aiding the sheriffs in punishing them, kept these robbers in their pay and protected them.[4] Jousts and tournaments were forbidden, unless under special leave.[5] They served for the rendezvous of armed persons; from the number of places at which they were held, they were evidently a popular form of amusement, and furnished convenient opportunities for gathering together and plotting, if need be, how to defeat the law. Special keepers of the peace, to be afterwards developed into the county magistrates of the present day, had been ordered to be appointed in January 1329, during the sway of Mortimer; but they were not able to put down the robbers, and at one time, consequently, it became necessary, for the King himself to march at the head of a body of soldiers, to attack and disperse them.[6] Such, indeed, was the turbulent spirit of the times, that it was the habit of the Members coming to

A.D. 1331.

Disturbances in Ireland.

Edward turns his attention to the state of the kingdom,

which was unsettled during Mortimer's rule.

Keepers of the peace appointed.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 61.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 753.
[3] Ibid. pp. 754 and 784.
[4] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 62 (9).
[5] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 725, 732, 795, 808, 815, and 824.
[6] Carte, vol. ii. p. 409.

A.D. 1332. Parliament, and of others also, to travel to London fully armed with swords, long knives, actons, and haubergeons, for the sake of overawing the King or any opponent. The Parliament of March 1332 therefore deemed it necessary to forbid any persons—except those appointed by the King to keep the peace, and Earls and Barons who were allowed to carry their swords—to enter the City of London or the suburbs thus armed. At the same time, an amusing regulation was made, for the prevention of any disturbance of Parliament; little boys were forbidden to play at bars, or other games, or to amuse themselves by knocking off the hats of passers-by in the neighbourhood of the Palace of Westminster.[1] A proclamation to the same effect was made, by order of the King, at the Parliament held at York in the following January,[2] and was indeed continually repeated. But Edward attended to the general welfare of the kingdom in other ways, and it was in this year, as will be afterwards more particularly related, that he encouraged the growth of the woollen manufacture, by inducing Flemish weavers to settle in England.[3]

Persons forbidden to enter London armed.

Brawling forbidden.

Edward just then seemed to have abandoned, for a time, all idea of laying claim to the crown of France, and the two kings appeared outwardly to have no cause of quarrel. In the spring of 1332, Philip proposed to Edward to unite with him in a crusade against the Saracens in the Holy Land, or the Moors in Spain. It seemed not to matter, which of these absurd adventures was pursued; military glory, tinged with religious fanaticism, rather than any determined policy, influenced both the proposal and

The King of France proposes a crusade.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 64 (2 & 3). [2] Ibid. p. 68 (4).
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 823.

its acceptance. Edward was quite willing to join in either; but the Parliament, held on the 16th of March, although advising Edward to accede to Philip's proposal, recommended him to postpone the expedition for three years.[1] Events, however, occurred in Scotland which entirely put a stop to this proposed joint crusade. A.D. 1332. Edward agrees, provided it takes place after three years.

At the Parliament held at Westminster in the following September—the prelates, nobles, and knights of the counties each deliberating separately, and the citizens and burgesses not being even mentioned,[2]— Constitution of the Parliaments of this period.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 65 (9).

[2] *Note from Report on the Dignity of a Peer.*—On these proceedings it is observable, that the knights, as well as the prelates, earls, and barons, were distinguished from the citizens and burgesses, and frequently acted separately; and it seems evident that when the Parliament was to act as the adviser of the Crown, the prelates, earls, barons, and "Grantz" were most generally consulted, and sometimes the knights of the shires; but the "Gentz de Commune," or citizens and burgesses, seem to have been little regarded, except when an Aid was required. Parliament, therefore, when assembled in Edward the Third's reign, had not yet completely assumed its present form: the Lords and Commons were not yet considered as two Houses, perfectly distinct and acting separately and on perfect equality in their different functions. The knights of the shires appear to have been treated as of a higher order than the representatives of cities and boroughs; and on this, as on other occasions, the Parliament continued to sit after the knights, citizens, and burgesses had been dismissed, and when the clergy, except the prelates, had also been dismissed; so that their presence was not deemed necessary to the constitution of a Parliament to which the prelates, earls, and barons were summoned. But the proceedings of a Parliament cannot, after the dismission of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, have been in their nature legislative, for that would have been contrary to the Declaratory Statute of the 15th Ed. II. "The matters which are to be established for the estate of our Lord the King and of his heirs, and for the Estate of the Realm and of the People, shall

A.D. 1332. it was stated, that news came day by day that the Scots were preparing to break the peace. It was consequently advised, that the King should at once proceed to the North of England, without waiting even till the petitions had been heard; and Parliament granted a subsidy, for the expenses which this and the disturbances in Ireland would put him to.[1]

War between England and Scotland begins again,

because the Scotch do not restore certain estates to the English.

It has been mentioned that one of the conditions of the peace between the English and Scotch, which was made by Mortimer at the beginning of Edward's reign, was, that estates in Scotland, belonging to certain English barons, which had been seized by Bruce, should be restored. Notwithstanding Edward's remonstrances to the Regent Randolph, this condition had not been fulfilled,[2] and consequently the barons determined to recover their estates by force. Lord Beaumont, who was at their head, had opposed the peace, and having thereby incurred Mortimer's ill-will, had left England and lived in France. While there, he had plotted with Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol late King of Scotland, to make an attempt to place him on the throne, thinking he would thereby be enabled to recover his own rights.[3] He therefore

Baliol's son returns to England,

brought Baliol, who had returned to France after his visit to England in 1327, over to England, where he

be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by our Lord the King, and by the assent of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons, and the Commonalty of the Realm, according as it hath been heretofore accustomed." The Parliament probably then acted only as a Council of the Crown to advise the King in the general administration of his government, and to act as a supreme court of justice.—*Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 307.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 66 (3); and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 845.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 837 (April 22, 1332).

[3] Tytler, vol. i. p. 385.

remained for some time on his estates in Yorkshire, A.D.1332. while arranging plans for the invasion of Scotland.[1] After a time, Baliol had an interview with King Edward, and offered to do him homage for the kingdom of Scotland, provided the latter helped him to obtain the throne.[2] But Edward would not violate the Scotch treaty, being bound to pay the Pope £20,000 if he did so,[3] and he therefore refused to allow the forces raised by Baliol and Beaumont to march through England.[4] He appointed Lord Henry Percy guardian of the marches and governor of the five northern counties of England, and gave him orders to prevent the passage of Baliol's troops; by repeated proclamations, he, also, strictly enjoined the preservation of the peace between the two kingdoms.

and vainly endeavours to induce Edward to help him to the Scottish throne.

Baliol was compelled, therefore, to invade Scotland by sea. He set sail from Ravenspur[5] in Yorkshire, and landed at Kinghorn, near Dunfermline, in Fifeshire. His success was most rapid and unexpected. Scotland was no longer governed by a sagacious monarch, assisted by able counsellors. The young King, David the Second, was a mere child; Lord Randolph, Earl of Moray, the wise Regent, died at this critical moment, in July, of poison as was suspected; and Sir James Douglas had fallen in battle, fighting against the Moors in Spain. The kingdom was weakened by divided counsels, and there

Baliol and Beaumont invade Scotland.

[1] Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 600.

[2] Barnes, p. 58.

[3] Knighton, col. 2560.

[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 833 (March 24, 1332).

[5] A great Yorkshire harbour, now long buried under the sea, near Spurn Head in the East Riding. *The historical parallel of the sailing of these troops, destined for an attack on a nation with whom Edward was at peace, with that of the Alabama, may be worth consideration.*

A.D. 1332. was none able to plan a resistance to the English invasion.

Baliol reached Kinghorn on August 7th,[1] and his English archers easily put to flight the undisciplined multitude, assembled to oppose their landing. Baliol then advanced to Dunfermline, where he obtained a seasonable supply of arms and provisions, and, having ordered his fleet to sail round to the mouth of the Tay, he himself marched towards Perth, and took up a strong position with the river Earn in his front. Notwithstanding these successes however, his situation was full of danger. On landing, he had at most only 300 men-at-arms and 3,000 foot-soldiers,[2] and must soon have been driven out of the country, had not Scotland been in the hands of an incapable Regent. Donald, Earl of Mar, another nephew of King Robert, who had been appointed Regent on the death of Randolph, collected an army of 40,000 men, and drew up opposite Baliol's little force, on Dupplin Moor, on the left bank of the river, Earn, which, therefore, flowed between him and Baliol; while the Earl of March, with an army nearly as numerous, prepared to attack Baliol on the flank. But there were (as usual) traitors in the Scottish camp, and Baliol's little army was led across the river, by a Scottish baron, who knew of a safe ford.[3] The Regent's army was taken by surprise, and its defeat was so utterly overwhelming, that the number of the slain, among whom was the Regent himself, is said to have been more than four times as many as that of the whole English army. Baliol now entered Perth, and prepared to defend it against the expected attack of the Earl of March. But there were

Baliol's rapid success.

Battle of Dupplin Moor.

Baliol utterly defeats the Scottish army,

[1] Knighton, col. 2560. [2] Ibid. [3] Walsingham, p. 194.

traitors in the camp of the latter also, and the Scottish army dispersed without striking a blow at the invaders. A.D. 1332.

Baliol had now overcome all opposition: David and his affianced bride were sent to France for safety,[1] and on September 24th, 1332, in less than two months after his landing, Baliol himself was crowned at Scone King of Scotland.[2] and is crowned at Scone.

Baliol being now the actual King of Scotland, it was necessary for Edward to settle what course he should take towards him. Ambition was stronger than affection: he preferred lending his support to a king to whom he could dictate, than to one who, although his brother-in-law, might prefer the independence of his kingdom to friendship with his wife's brother. Scotland had been so constantly allied with France, that its submission to England seemed necessary for the safety of the latter country. Edward consequently lost no time in preparing for any emergency; and, having been advised by his Parliament to proceed towards the North of England, issued orders from Nottingham on the 7th of October for the assemblage of troops for service in Scotland.[3] Soon afterwards he opened negotiations with Baliol.[4] These were quickly brought to a conclusion, and, on the 23rd of November, Baliol admitted, in a formal document, that his successes were obtained by the help of Edward's good subjects and by his sufferance; acknowledged that he held Scotland from Edward as his suzerain; and did him full and liege homage for it. He further agreed to give Edward possession of Berwick; and, treating the marriage of Edward's Edward considers whether he should recognise him as King.

[1] Tytler, vol. i. p. 394.
[2] Walsingham, p. 195.
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 846.
[4] Ibid. p. 847.

A.D. 1333. sister, Joan, with David, as only a betrothal, offered to marry her himself.[1]

Meeting of Parliament at York relative to Scottish affairs.

But, notwithstanding all these arrangements, Edward thought it necessary again to consult his Parliament, and he therefore summoned it to meet him at York, on the 4th of December, to advise him "whether he should claim Scotland as his own domain, or retain the service of it as his ancestors did, or receive its value."[2] The prelates and clergy, the earls and barons, and the knights of the shires and Commons, each considered the matter separately; but there being a thin attendance, they declined to give advice on so weighty a matter, and desired that Parliament should be adjourned until the 20th of January (A.D. 1333).

In the meantime, Baliol, fancying himself in complete security, was encamped at Annan, without taking proper precautions against attack. He thus allowed himself to be surprised on the 16th of December by a large body of horse, under the command of the Earl of Moray second son of the great Randolph, along with Sir Simon Fraser, and Archibald Douglas, brother to Bruce's old companion-in-arms, the good Sir James. These barons made a sudden and rapid march from Moffat in the twilight of a December evening, and broke in upon him at midnight. He was completely taken by surprise, the nobles and their vassals and retainers were put to the sword without mercy, and Baliol was compelled to fly to

Baliol flies to England.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 847.

[2] "Lequel il se devoit trere vers Escoce en clamant le Demeigne de meisme la terre, ou de soi faire partie a prendre l'avantage d'aver en service come ses Auncestres avoient, ou la Value."—Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 67.

England, having in less than five months gained and lost a crown, which was soon, however, to be again recovered.[1] A.D. 1333.

The English Parliament assembled at York at the end of January as agreed, and the three bodies again deliberated apart, for nearly a week, when they advised that the King should seek the advice of the Pope and the King of France.[2] Edward, however, consulted neither; and, the Scots having shortly afterwards resumed their habitual border warfare, considered the treaty with Bruce at an end, and prepared to march to Baliol's help.

Edward determines to march to his help.

On the 21st of March, he wrote from Pontefract to the Earl Marshal and others, ordering them to meet him at Newcastle with their forces on the 30th of May;[3] and at the same time gave leave to all the inhabitants of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, who wished to drive their cattle southward, for security against the incursions of the Scots, to feed them in his pastures and forests. He also ordered sixty carpenters, and other workmen, to make him certain great engines of war.[4] In a letter which Edward wrote about the same time, ordering soldiers to be sent from Wales, he distinctly charged the Scots with breaking the peace,[5] which the Scotch historians instance as "a singular piece of diplomatic effrontery;"[6] but it can hardly be denied that there was at any rate some ground for Edward's statement. Notwithstanding Baliol's own admission, made probably in the hope of pleasing and flattering Edward,

Great engines of war made for Edward, who charges the Scots with breaking the peace.

[1] Tytler, vol. i. p. 396.
[2] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. pp. 68 and 69 (7).
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 855.
[4] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 856.
[5] Ibid. p. 857.
[6] Tytler, vol. i. p. 397.

A.D. 1333. his success was not achieved by the help of Edward's soldiers, and had nothing to do with the treaty between Edward and David; but when the Scots began their border warfare and invaded England, they certainly broke the peace, and gave Edward an opportunity, not unwelcome probably, of considering it at an end.

On Edward's arrival at Newcastle, prayers were ordered to be offered up for his success. He wrote to the Count of Flanders, and to the magistrates of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, requesting them to prevent the Count's subjects from assisting the Scots with their ships; and on arriving at Belford, fourteen miles south of Berwick, he wrote to the King of France, explaining to him that it was the Scots who had broken the peace.[1]

The Bruce party prepare for the defence of Scotland.

The Bruce party of the Scots now prepared for the defence of the Kingdom, and put a strong garrison into Berwick, which Baliol had promised to surrender to Edward. Berwick was considered the key of Scotland, and was consequently the constant scene of conflict. Edward the First took it in the year 1296, Bruce re-took it in 1318, and strengthened its fortifications, and now again it was about to be besieged.

Edward takes measures to protect commerce during war. Beginning of international law.

The commerce of England had at this period become so important, that the fresh breaking out of war between Edward and Scotland rendered it necessary to take measures for its protection. Thus, at that remote period, the questions of international law which have been debated so much in our own day and are still in part unsettled, began to assume a vast practical importance. Merchant ships, with their car-

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 860 and 862.

goes, were constantly seized by the contending parties on either side; and even the subjects of other nations, not engaged in war, made piratical attacks on the trading vessels of belligerents. This they did, in some cases, with leave from their sovereign, who issued what are called letters of marque, "to empower individuals to procure redress by means of armed vessels, for injuries suffered, or alleged to be suffered, by them;"[1] a licence was thus given to piracy. In other cases, these attacks were made without such leave, and the marauders were therefore sheer pirates. A.D. 1333

Edward, desirous of extending English commerce, especially with Flanders, complained of these practices to the Count of Hainault, and "represented to him the injustice of making the innocent suffer for the guilty, and the sad condition of merchants, if they must be liable to suffer for the crimes committed by thieves and pirates upon the sea."[2] A negotiation ensued, in which mutual restitution was promised. Edward also made arrangements for the protection of other foreign merchants, who feared their ships would be seized; and the Kings of France and Aragon agreed to give no letters of marque or licences to pirates, unless any of their subjects who might have been plundered on the sea were refused redress.[3]

The siege of Berwick began in the middle of May, and the city was so well defended, that Edward decided to blockade it, in order to reduce it by famine. The Scots were soon obliged to negotiate, and agreed to deliver up the town unless relieved by a certain day, The siege of Berwick.

[1] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 509.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 862.
[3] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 509.

A.D.1333. Seton, the governor's son, being given as one of the hostages for the fulfilment of the agreement. Sir William Keith, and a few others, managed to force their way into the town, and this, as the Scots considered, fulfilled the conditions of the agreement and relieved them from the necessity of surrendering. Edward did not so consider it, and demanded a surrender; but they declared they would defend the city to the last extremity. In the meanwhile, formidable riots had broken out in Wales from north to south against the English dominion, to which the Welsh had not yet willingly succumbed. Edward had heard of these early in June, and it is probable that the Scots had also become aware of their occurrence, and were thereby encouraged to prolong their resistance.[1]

Edward hangs Seton before Berwick.

Edward considered the refusal of the Scots as a treacherous infringement of the agreement, and, as is said by some Scotch historians, hung Seton before the gate of the town.[2] The garrison were now alarmed, and it was at last agreed, on the 15th of July, that there should be a cessation of arms till sunrise on the 20th, and that the town and castle should both be surrendered on that day, unless, by vespers on the day before, they were relieved, either by an army, or by two hundred men of arms forcing their way into the place without losing more than thirty of their number.[3] On the 19th of July, to the great joy of the garrison, Sir Archibald Douglas, brother of 'The Good Sir James,' who had succeeded Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the successor of the Earl of Mar, as Regent of Scotland, appeared before Berwick. The English were encamped on Halidon

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 863. [2] Tytler, vol. i. pp. 400–402.
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 864.

Hill; and, having nothing to do but to prevent the Scots from entering the castle, they quietly awaited Douglas' attack. The Scots were posted on an opposite hill, with a marsh at its foot separating them from the English; but, feeling that they must fight at all hazards, they determined to cross the marsh and advance up the hill against the English. The English army was well provided with archers, who drew their bows, with the unerring aim and fatal quickness for which they were so justly famous. The Scots were thrown into confusion, and were soon defeated with such terrible slaughter, especially of the nobles, that it was commonly said among the English, that the Scottish wars were at last ended; since, not a man of that nation was left, who had either skill or power to assemble an army, or direct its operations.[1] The battle was fought on the 19th of July, and on the 22nd, Edward ordered the Archbishops and Bishops to offer up thanks to God for the victory.[2]

A.D. 1333.

Battle of Halidon Hill.

Defeat of the Scots.

It is impossible to avoid sympathising with the Scots in these struggles. They fought for a Bruce against a Baliol. It is true, that, in refusing to restore the forfeited estates to the English, the Scots had broken the treaty of Edinburgh; but Edward should have made a formal demand for their restitution, and resorted to arms only in case of refusal. Edward, however, doubtless wished to recover his influence over Scotland; he probably shared in the general indignation against the treaty made when he was too young to assent or dissent; he knew that France secretly sided with the Bruce party; and he was therefore glad of an excuse to meddle in Scottish affairs.

[1] Murimuth's Chron. p. 71 (London, 1846).

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 866.

A.D. 1334.

Surrender of Berwick, and Edward's efforts to promote its commerce.

After the disastrous defeat of the Scots at Halidon Hill, Berwick was, of course, surrendered to the English; and Edward, ever anxious to promote commerce, proclaimed that all merchants who would settle in it should hold their houses by burgage tenure.[1] This was a kind of *town socage*, the terms of which were, that land was held on condition of making returns in money, produce, or service, neither of servile nor military nature; and, the tenant was not liable to be dispossessed, so long as these services were performed. In many instances, and particularly in larger towns, these rents and services were compounded for by a stipulated annual sum, paid in common by the tenants, which was termed a fee farm rent. The independence and certainty which characterised this form of tenure, contributed greatly to the commerce and wealth, and thereby to the importance of the boroughs and towns where it was adopted. It was therefore a great boon to the inhabitants of Berwick.[2]

The commerce of England in general had suffered from the war with Scotland, for many foreign merchants, fearing that their ships would be seized by privateers having letters of marque, had given up sending their ships to England. Edward consequently ordered his sheriffs to make it known everywhere, that all merchants, having his letter of safe-conduct, might come freely to England to dispose of their goods on payment of the usual customs, and that no one should interfere with them.[3]

On the fall of Berwick, Patrick, Earl of March, who had previously been suspected of a secret leaning

[1] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 509.

[2] See Norton's *Commentaries on London*, ch. iii., and *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 83.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 868.

to the English, at once submitted to Edward, and many of the Scottish nobles followed his example. Baliol, was now once more seated on the throne of Scotland, but he soon greatly disgusted his subjects, by yielding to Edward the whole of the Kingdom south of the Forth; by acknowledging him as his liege lord; and, by doing him full homage for that part of Scotland, over which he was himself allowed to remain the King.[1] A.D. 1334.

Baliol does Edward full homage for the North of Scotland; and gives up to him the whole of Scotland south of the Forth.

Edward returned to England soon after the victory, and, for the next two years and a half, until war was declared between England and France, was continually engaged in journeys, to and fro, between England and Scotland, being repeatedly obliged to go to the assistance of his vassal Baliol.

It was necessary, however, at the same time, to keep continual watch over France; for Philip's friendship could not but be hollow, so long as Edward persisted in refusing to recognise him as the lawful King of France, and Philip continued to strive for absolute sovereignty over Aquitaine. The independence of Scotland, was a security to Philip against attacks from England; he therefore secretly supported the Scots, and had done so ever since Baliol made the attempt on Scotland. It was in his Court that Bruce and his affianced bride found refuge, and in Bruce's name he sent the Scots help, both in arms and money. Daily communications were kept up between Scotland and France; numerous French adventurers, weary of peace, went to fight under the banners of Bruce against the English; the two nations were always clashing together, and the governments became more and more estranged. Nearly thirty

Edward's attention divided between Scotland and France.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 876 (Feb. 12, 1334).

A.D. 1334. years previously Pope Clement the Fifth had quitted Rome, at the bidding of Philip the Fourth, and since that time, he, and his successor John the Twenty-second, had lived at Avignon in France, the creatures of its King, in what, from its lasting seventy years, was called a "Babylonish captivity." Notwithstanding his subservience to France, however, Pope John was anxious to prevent war breaking out between England and France, and wrote to both kings, reminding them of their engagement to make a crusade together, and to impress on them the consequent necessity of remaining at peace with each other.[1] But Philip, nevertheless, did not cease to help the Scots.

Baliol alienates his subjects, and the Bruce party rise again.

Baliol, weak as his father, and unfit to govern Scotland, soon alienated the good-will of his subjects, and, by his vacillations, turned even his own partisans into enemies. The old Bruce party was not slow to avail itself of the opportunity, thus afforded by Baliol's folly. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell was now, most opportunely for the national party, released from prison,[2] and reappeared on the scene. In early life he had been the pupil of Wallace; was a soldier of great experience and undoubted integrity;[3] had been appointed Regent by the Bruce party, on the occasion of a transient gleam of success, after the death of the Earl of Mar and King David's escape to France; and had been taken prisoner at Roxburgh[4] before the fatal battle of Halidon Hill. Scottish ships of war, assisted by a fleet of their French allies, hovered round the coast, to intercept the English ships conveying provisions to Baliol's army, and

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 72.
[2] Tytler's *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 411.
[3] Ibid. p. 421.
[4] Ibid. p. 399.

A.D. 1334.

Baliol became frightened, and again fled, but it was not at first necessary on this occasion to fly beyond Berwick. The patriots at once seized the reins of government. Robert, the Steward of Scotland, grandson of Robert the Bruce, and Randolph, Earl of Moray, second son of the great Randolph, the hero of Bannockburn, were appointed joint Regents of the Kingdom. The latter had escaped to France after the defeat at Halidon Hill, but had recently returned to Scotland. Baliol now became more alarmed, and lost no time in taking refuge in England.[1]

Baliol flies to England again.

Philip's animosity against Edward now increased still more and more. He vexed him daily with fresh legal processes in Aquitaine, and took every means to provoke him to war; but Edward, desirous of avoiding war with France until he had overcome the Scots, sent ambassadors to Philip three times during the year, with instructions to put an end to all differences between them. These negotiations, however, had no effect.[2]

Increase of the animosity of the King of France against Edward.

When Edward heard of Baliol's misfortunes, he was consulting his Parliament in London[3] about the expedition or crusade which Philip of France had proposed, and which had been postponed for three years. The news from Scotland put an end to the project, and in November, after obtaining a grant towards the expenses of the war, Edward, by the advice of his Parliament, once more set out for Scotland.[4] The merchants (probably of London) had already

Edward goes again to Scotland, to help Baliol.

[1] Tytler's *Scotland*, pp. 414 and 415.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 89; and Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 880 (March 26, 1334), p. 894 (Sept. 30, 1334), and p. 898 (Nov. 5, 1334).

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 895 (Sept. 30, 1334).

[4] Knighton, col. 2565.

A.D. 1334. granted him, for one year,[1] of their own accord, and most likely as a "benevolence," ten shillings on each sack of wool and the same amount on each last of leather exported, but, on the 19th of September, the Parliament substituted for this a tenth from the citizens and burgesses, and a fifteenth from the barons and knights of shires;[2] and the clergy, in convocation at St. Paul's, granted him a tenth of their goods and benefices.[3]

Edward made great preparations for supporting Baliol in the following year with a large force. On the 20th of December he wrote from Roxburgh to the sheriffs of England, ordering that all men having forty pounds a year in land, who had not taken up the military order of knights owing knight's service, should do so by the end of May, and a few days afterwards he issued orders for the arming and arraying of the whole nation.[4]

Scotland overrun by Edward and Baliol.

The combined forces of Edward and Baliol overran a considerable part of Scotland, but, early in the following year, Edward left Scotland, and appointed

[1] Claus. 8 E. III. m. 12. m. 8. d.—This grant of the merchants seems to have been made without the action of Parliament. It was the custom of the time to tax particular classes. Thus Parliament sometimes taxed the wool-merchants, sometimes the citizens and burgesses, and sometimes the clergy. In accordance with this practice, the King, probably, informed the Mayor of London, or some leading merchant, that he required money. The Mayor or other person then communicated with the merchants, and obtained from them the required proffer of a grant. In this particular case there are no known documents which record the grant. These grants were often made as "benevolences" in return for some privilege which had been granted, or might be expected.

[2] Pat. 8 Ed. III. p. 2, m. 15; and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 895.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 897. [4] Ibid. pp. 899–901.

Baliol constable of the army. Shortly after this, the war was suspended by the arrival in England of ambassadors from France, who were sent to mediate for peace between England and Scotland. It is difficult to assign any reason for this interference on the part of France, since her interest was evidently the perpetuation of war between the two countries; unless indeed Philip feared that the Scots would be subjugated, and wished to ingratiate himself in their favour, by averting such a result. Edward gave the ambassadors an audience at Gedling, near Nottingham; but he was not now desirous of peace, would consent to nothing more than a truce till midsummer, and immediately began his preparations to renew the war.[1] In the spring he wrote to Ireland for support in money, men, and arms;[2] and, suspecting that the French were secretly aiding the Scots, sent to Calais to ascertain whether, with their connivance, the Scots were fitting out ships against him in that port, and if such were found to be the case, ordered that the ships should be seized.[3] After this, he for the third time invaded Scotland, and, penetrating into the country by Carlisle, while Baliol entered by Berwick, met his dependent King at Perth.

A.D. 1335.

Truce between England and Scotland;

after which Edward again invades Scotland.

The cause of the Bruce party again seemed desperate, but a gleam of hope shone forth to them from the defeat of the Count of Namur, who was on his way to join Edward with a band of foreign knights. He was surprised and defeated by the Earls of March and Moray, and was taken prisoner; but his captors, with great generosity, released him and his companions without ransom, and escorted them across the border.

Defeat of the Count of Namur by the Scots.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 903, 904. [2] Ibid. pp. 905–907.
[3] Ibid. p. 911.

A.D. 1335. On the return of the Scots, they were attacked by the English and utterly routed. James Douglas was killed, but his brother Archibald, who had been Regent of Scotland before the appointment of Robert and Randolph to office, escaped. Randolph, however, was taken prisoner, and the Bruce party was so dispirited that Robert, the other Regent, and the Earl of Athole, one of the disinherited barons—who was always changing from one side to the other, and had lately gone over to the Bruce party—concluded a treaty of peace with Edward, at Perth, on August 18th, 1335.[1]

The Bruce party submits to Edward.

In the following month, Athole was appointed Governor of Scotland, under Baliol; and, early in October, Edward, believing that Baliol was now securely settled on his throne and being himself called to England to defend it against French invasion, returned to Berwick-on-Tweed, from whence he proceeded southwards in December. He had, however, hardly left Scotland, when the ill-judged severity of the new Governor provoked the Scots to resistance, and at last, under the leadership of Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, they rose against him and slew him, and Moray was then immediately appointed Regent in his stead.

Edward returns to the North of England.

The Scots, however, still groaned under Baliol's yoke. Encouraged by the support of their French allies, they continued to plot against him; whilst every day they received promises of powerful help from the King of France. Edward, alarmed at the reports that there were numerous fleets afloat ready to invade England, had written at the beginning of August to order all men between sixteen and sixty to be arrayed,

Alarm about invasion of England by the French.

[1] Avesbury, p. 24.

and a council to be immediately held in London. A.D.1335.
Leaders of the Londoners were appointed, who were to defend the city in case the enemy landed. The King's son was sent to Nottingham for safety; the Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands were put in a state of defence; ships in the port of London were seized for the use of the King, and everything was made ready to defend the country.[1] Philip, in fact, was constantly preparing for war with England: he supported her foes, his troops landed on her coasts in sudden forays, and he vexed Edward's seneschals in Aquitaine. Before the submission of Athole to Edward, Philip had written to Pope Benedict the Twelfth, to say that his treaties with the Scots obliged him to help them; and the Pope in answer had, at the end of July, written strongly to dissuade him from war with England, and offered to act as mediator between him and Edward. The Pope then wrote to both Edward and Philip, exhorting them to peace, and Philip consequently sent ambassadors to Edward to negotiate. At length on the 23rd of November a truce with Scotland, to last for a month, was agreed on, and its further prolongation till the end of January, A.D. 1336, was afterwards arranged.[2]

Philip's animosity against Edward.

Temporary truce with Scotland.

The Pope did not desist in his endeavours to bring about a more permanent peace, and, before the truce had expired it was again prolonged till Easter; but Edward, still alarmed at the rumours of the warlike preparations of the Scots, was obliged once more to prepare for war. At the instance of the Pope, however, the truce was a second time prolonged; but at length Edward's patience was exhausted, and on the

A.D.1336.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 916, 917, 919, and 920.
[2] Ibid. pp. 926, 928.

A.D. 1336. 7th of April he determined to invade Scotland. He gave the command of the army to Henry Earl of Lancaster;[1] but at the end of June accompanied it in person.[2] While Edward was in Scotland, Philip kept up a harassing interference with his lieutenants in the Duchy of Aquitaine. When Edward did homage to Philip, it had been agreed that commissioners should be appointed to settle various still outstanding disputes between them; but Philip's seneschal in Agenois, encouraged doubtless by Philip himself, took the law into his own hands, and expelled Edward's vassal, Aymeric de Durfort, from that province by main force. Before going to Scotland Edward had made great complaints of this to Philip,[3] but he wished both to avoid a war with France and to terminate that with Scotland; and accordingly, almost immediately after his arrival at Perth, had appointed commissioners to treat with the King of France relative to their often-proposed expedition to the Holy Land, and to the settlement of all disputes between them, and to negotiate at the same time with Bruce himself, relative to the conclusion of a peace between England and Scotland.[4]

Edward returns to Scotland.

He appoints Commissioners to treat with the King of France and with Bruce,

Edward now believed, that there really was a chance of the disputes with France being settled amicably; but still, it was necessary to be prepared against Philip's habitual treachery. Accordingly, he wrote from Perth to Sir Oliver de Ingham, his seneschal in Gascony, on the 20th of August,[5] telling him that, in order to prevent dangers which

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 930, 931, 933, and 936. [2] Ibid. p. 941.
[3] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 100; and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 936.
[4] July 6, 1336, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 942.
[5] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 944.

might arise in Aquitaine from the want of armed men, he was to allow none such to leave the duchy without his special leave, and to punish severely those who seemed disposed to disobey. A.D. 1336.

and summons a Parliament at Nottingham.

Immediately afterwards, Edward summoned a Parliament to meet at Nottingham at the end of the following February, to advise him as to his quarrel with France and war with Scotland.[1] That war still continued, but the Scots avoided any general engagement, acting on the policy always adopted by Bruce. Probably they also relied on the speedy invasion of England by their French allies. Edward therefore returned to England, leaving his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, to direct the operations of the army. The Earl, however, died in October,[2] and the King was consequently obliged once more to return to Scotland. But he still continued his negotiations with both France and Scotland,[3] although he had good reason to believe that Philip was at that very time preparing to help the Scots by invading England. Consequently, Edward wrote to the Mayor of Bayonne, to say that he had been informed that there was a fleet on the coast of Normandy ready for that enterprise, and desired him to send a fleet to England to assist him in repelling the apprehended invasion.

Preparations for invading England.

Preparations for the invasion of England were made by France in Sicily, Genoa, and even in Norway and Holland, but without the consent of the rulers of those countries, and under colour of an expedition to the Holy Land. The Government of the first two forbad the preparations immediately they

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. (Perth, August 24, 1336).

[2] Walsingham, p. 197. [3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 945.

A.D. 1336. became aware of them,[1] and Edward protested, probably with equal success, against what was being attempted in Norway and Holland. The Count of Flanders, not unnaturally, also took part against England, and seized all the English merchants and their property in Flanders. Edward retaliated by similar measures in England.[2] Edward however had not neglected to prepare at home for the defence of England. So early as April he had appointed Sir Geoffrey Say and Sir John Norwich his admirals; and on the 16th of August he commanded them to proceed to sea, England's ancient dominion over which he asserted in the following remarkable words: "We, considering that our progenitors, Kings of England, were lords of the English sea on every side, and also defenders against invasions of enemies before these times; it would much grieve us if our royal honour in such defence should perish or be in aught diminished in our time, which God forbid."[3] The Isle of Wight was attacked, and other parts of England were threatened; at the beginning of November, therefore, the fleets were ordered to assemble at Portsmouth and Orewell.[4] On the 11th of December the King found it necessary to issue a Commission, to consult as to the best measures for the defence of England; he told the commissioners that as he was then in Scotland conducting the war, they were bound to expose their lives in defence of the country.[5]

Edward's preparations for defence.

Edward claims dominion over the sea.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 946 and 949 (Sept., Oct., and Nov. 1336).

[2] Ibid. p. 948.

[3] Rot. Scot. i. 442 (as quoted by Nicolas, *Hist. Brit. Navy*, vol. ii. p. 17).

[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 951.

[5] Ibid. p. 953.

A.D. 1336.

Edward returns to England to settle the dispute with France.

At length Edward thought his presence in England was even more necessary than in Scotland; he therefore left that country in the middle of December,[1] and returned to England, to prepare for the settlement of the dispute with France by arms or negotiation, according as he might be advised by Parliament. War between the two countries broke out in the course of the following year, and Edward did not again invade Scotland in person for more than twenty years.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 956.

CHAPTER V.

LAWS RELATIVE TO SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL LIFE PASSED DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF EDWARD'S REIGN.

[A.D. 1336.] ENGLAND, from the earliest times in which anything is known about it, was famous for her commerce; her Kings, even in the remote period when she first achieved secure possession of political liberty, were not allowed to forget the importance of commercial prosperity. In Magna Charta the trade with foreign merchants was carefully protected; and, in each succeeding reign, enactments were made, with the object of promoting commercial intercourse between England and the Continent of Europe. In the reign of Edward the Third, a vast number of arrangements were made and laws passed for the regulation of English commerce; but, as already stated, their motive was to increase revenue, and their effect was often so prejudicial, that, to this King, there cannot be awarded the praise, of legislating with a wise insight into the importance of encouraging its growth. Nevertheless, these matters were forced on Edward's mind, at the very beginning of his reign, by his need of money; the war with Scotland, and the disputes with France, increased instead of diminishing the necessity of his attention to them. It will therefore be convenient here to interrupt, for a short interval, the current narrative of political events in order to

Edward the Third unjustly called "The Father of English Commerce."

give an account of the statutes passed at this time for the promotion of commercial prosperity, and also of some laws curiously illustrating the manners of the time. It would require an elaborate work, especially devoted to the subject, to do adequate justice to the vast and interesting subject of the history of English trade and commerce; but even the slight sketch which alone can be introduced here, and the incidental notices appearing from time to time in the narrative, will, it is believed, give some idea of its progress, and help to bring before the reader's mind a living picture of the times. [A.D. 1326.]

It may be well, however, to begin by stating the way in which the Statutes of the Realm, or Acts of Parliament, were then promulgated or made known, and how this purpose is now accomplished, so as to remind the reader of the difference between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries in this respect.

Promulgation of Statutes, or the way in which laws were made known.

Previously to, and for centuries after the reign of Edward the Third, Parliaments were held at various places over the kingdom—wherever, in fact, it best suited the convenience of the King—and indeed there is no law to prevent their being now held elsewhere than at Westminster.[1] An Act of Parliament might, therefore, be passed in Westminster, or at York, or elsewhere; but wherever this might take place, it was necessary that it should be made known, as quickly as possible, over the whole length and breadth of the kingdom. The art of printing had not been discovered, there was no postal system by which letters were conveyed from one part of England to another, and communication of all kinds, except on horseback, was slow and difficult. Written copies of new Statutes

[1] See *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 108.

[A.D. 1336.] were therefore sent to all the Sheriffs, with instructions that they should be "published and cried" in every county in England, and they were sent also to the Cathedrals and Monasteries to be preserved among their records. In the first year of Richard the Third (1484), which was not long after the invention of printing, this practice was given up, and no good system substituted in its place. The inconvenience, arising from the consequent defective promulgation of the Statutes, was not remedied until the year 1796, when it was provided that printed copies should be distributed all over the kingdom; and after the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, it was provided that 5,500 copies of every General Act should be printed by the King's printer, and transmitted to all requisite persons, throughout the kingdom, connected with the legislature and the administration of justice. This is the way in which the Acts of Parliament are authenticated and promulgated at the present day.[1]

Law for promoting freedom of commerce.

The first of the Statutes to which I have referred, relates to the free access of foreign merchants to our ports and inland towns. It was provided by Magna Charta, that foreign merchants, in time of peace, should have safe and sure conduct to come into England; to go through it as well by land as by water; to remain in it, to buy and sell, without any manner of evil tolls, by the old and rightful customs, and to depart out of England.[2] The freedom of trade, thus granted to foreign merchants, was confirmed by various kings, especially by Edward the First, who (in 1303), gave a

[1] *The Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810), vol. i., Introduction, ch. v. sec. 2.

[2] Reeve's *History of English Law*, vol. i. p. 234.

charter to foreign merchants, allowing them, on condition of their paying certain import and export duties, freedom to trade by wholesale in all parts of his dominions, and to sell spices and mercery by retail. He also exempted them from the payment of "pontage," a duty imposed upon the ordinary residents for making and repairing bridges; "murage," a similar duty for upholding the walls of towns; and "pavage" for paving streets. Edward the Third in 1328, at the beginning of his reign,[1] confirmed this highly important charter; the confirmation was repeated in the following year,[2] and again in 1332.[3] But, notwithstanding these enactments, such was the jealousy of foreign merchants, felt by the freemen of cities, to whom exclusive privileges of trade had been granted, sometimes by their charters, and sometimes by Acts of Parliament, that they refused to allow merchants who brought foreign goods into the country to sell to any person but themselves, in order to enable them to re-sell at any price they pleased; riots often took place, from the resident traders trying to enforce compliance with these chartered privileges. An Act to put a stop to these practices, was therefore passed, while Edward was on his way to Scotland after the truce made by the mediation of the French ambassadors. [A.D. 1336.]

This Act (the 9th Edward III. Statute 1st, York, 26th May A.D. 1335) is as follows: "Whereas in divers cities, boroughs, and other places of his realm, great duress and grievous damage have been done to him and his people, by some people of cities, boroughs, ports of the sea, and other places in the said realm, which in long time past have not suffered, nor yet Act 9th Edward III. Stat. 1.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 746. [2] Ibid. p. 757. [3] Ibid. p. 836.

[A.D. 1336.] will suffer merchant strangers, nor others, which do carry and bring in by sea or land, wines and other livings and victuals, to sell and deliver such wines and other things to any other than to themselves; by reason whereof such stuff aforesaid is sold to the King and to his people more dear than they should be.

Charter to foreign merchants.

Our Lord the King, desiring the profit of his people, hath ordained and established, that all merchants, strangers, and denizens, and all other, that will buy or sell corn, wines, and all other livings, victuals, wools, clothes, wares, merchandises, and all other things vendible, from whence soever they come, may freely, without interruption, sell them to what persons it shall please them, except always the enemies of our Lord the King and of his Realm." The Statute then goes on to impose penalties (such as loss of franchise, fines, and imprisonment) on those who infringed the law.[1] By a subsequent Act (11th Edward III.), London was excepted from these provisions; but the act was continually evaded, and "it was not until the reign of Richard the Second that all dealings between foreigner and foreigner within the City of London were emphatically prohibited."[2] Foreign merchants were subjected to the great hardship, from which they were sometimes relieved by special favour, of being each made liable for the debts and crimes of the others in the kingdom, probably from the fear that they might escape from justice by leaving the kingdom. This unjust custom was abolished by law in 1353.[3]

Trade was interfered with to an extraordinary

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 269.

[2] See Mr. Norton's invaluable *Commentaries on London*, book i. chap. vii. New edition. London, 1869.

[3] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. pp. 474 and 479.

extent by piracy, and the Calais pirates were most notorious. It is unnecessary to trace the history of these pirates beyond a few years; but it may be noticed that in 1315, twenty-two piratical vessels issued from Calais, and, notwithstanding that England and France were then at peace, seized four English vessels laden with wool and other merchandise for Antwerp, and about the same time they even attacked an English vessel (similarly laden) which was stranded off Margate, and carried it off to Calais. The English themselves, however, were not innocent of similar evildoing, and in 1320 the Flemings complained that the English had seized some of their ships laden with wines and other goods, and had carried them off to England. [A.D. 1336.] Piracy.

Another Act was passed by the York Parliament, the great object of which was to prevent the debasement of the coin at home, the introduction of bad money from abroad, and the carrying good money away out of the country. It was provided that good silver money, or articles of silver plate, might be imported, and taken to places of exchange, where English money was given for it, and where travellers were accommodated with English and foreign money, when arriving at or departing from the kingdom; but, in violation of all sound principles of commercial policy, it was ordered, that no money or plate should be taken out of the kingdom. The places of exchange were appointed at Dover, London, Yarmouth, Kingston-upon-Hull, St. Bothulph (Boston), Newcastle, Cirencester, Hartlepool, Scarborough, York, Ravensered, Lincoln, Southampton, Norwich, Lynn, Ipswich, Sandwich, Winchelsea, and Law relative to exportation of silver and debasement of the currency.

[A.D. 1336.] Bristol,[1] which twenty places may therefore be supposed to have been then the principal centres of trade. The exchanges were a source of profit to the King, and formed part of his revenue.

This Statute (9 Edward III. Stat. 2) begins by stating that "Because we have perceived that divers people beyond the sea, endeavour to counterfeit our sterling money of England, and to send into England their weak money, in deceit of us, and damage and oppression of our people, we have ordained that from henceforth no religious man, nor other, shall carry any sterling out of the realm of England, nor silver in plate, nor vessel of gold, nor of silver, also, that no false money be brought into the realm, that no sterling halfpenny nor farthing be molten, for to make vessel or any other thing by goldsmiths, nor other, also that all manner of black money, which hath been commonly current of late in our realm, be utterly excluded."

Penalties were imposed on those who infringed this law, and it was also provided that no pilgrims should go out of the kingdom from any place but Dover, searchers being appointed at all the ports, to see that none carried out gold or silver without licence, or brought in counterfeit money.[2]

Very little gold currency at this time.

At this time there was very little gold money coined by the King of England—so little, indeed, that it has been generally believed that there was none.[3] A few years later, however (in 1344), the King and Parliament ordered gold money, called leopards and nobles, each of three sizes, to be coined. The largest pieces,

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 922; and *Statutes*, vol. i. p. 273.

[2] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 273.

[3] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 530.

stamped with two leopards, and equal to two small florins of Florence of full weight, were ordered to pass for six shillings. The halves were stamped with one leopard, and the quarters with a helmet.[1] The nobles consisted of pieces valued at six shillings and eightpence, and of halves and quarters of nobles.[2] In 1346 Edward, seeing the advantage that would arise from the use of an uniform currency in England and abroad, and thus anticipating the hitherto unsuccessful efforts of modern statesmen, endeavoured to establish an international currency between England and Flanders, but it does not appear that he succeeded.[3] Acts to prevent the introduction of counterfeit money and the exportation of good money were often passed, their very frequency showing their inefficiency. [A.D. 1336.]

In the following year, while Edward was on his way back from Scotland to prepare for war with France, a very singular law was passed at Auckland, in Durham, on October 15th, 1336 (10th Edward III. Stat. 3), regulating how much people might eat. It seems, at first sight, difficult to understand what can have given rise to so singular and impracticable a law. Its object, however, was, doubtless, to limit expenditure, both in dress and food. This period was one of great extravagance in dress, and probably also in living, and one of the great characteristics of the period was, the tendency to interfere with, and regulate, the most minute details of social and domestic life.[4] Singular law relative to eating.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1. [2] Ibid. p. 16. [3] Ibid. p. 77.

[4] Sumptuary laws abounded in ancient legislation. Thus, among the Romans, the Lex Orchia limited the number of guests at a feast; the Lex Fannia restricted the cost of an ordinary entertainment to ten *asses*, and so forth. The Act referred to in the text was left unrepealed till 19 & 20 Vict. c. 64.

[A.D. 1336.] The Statute begins by stating, "Whereas, through the excessive and over many sorts of costly meats which the people of this realm have used, more than elsewhere, many mischiefs have happened to the people of the said realm: for the great men, by these excesses, have been sore grieved, and the lesser people, who only endeavour to imitate the great ones in such sort of meats, are much impoverished; whereby they are not able to aid themselves nor their liege Lord, in time of need, as they ought; and many other evils have happened, as well to souls as bodies; Our Lord the King hath ordained and established that no man, of what estate or condition soever he be, shall cause himself to be served in his house or elsewhere, at dinner, meal, or supper, or at any other time, with more than two courses, and each mess of two sorts of victuals at the utmost, be it of flesh or fish, with the common sorts of pottage, without sauce or any other sort of victuals; and if any man choose to have sauce for his mess, he well may, provided it be not made at great cost, and if flesh or fish be mixed therein it shall be of two sorts only at the utmost, except on the principal feasts of the year, on which days every man may be served with three courses at the utmost." There is no penalty imposed for infringing this law, and indeed it must have been difficult to find out whether or not it was obeyed, unless there was a domestic spy in every house.[1]

Act 10th Edward III. Stat. 3.

Law relative to eating.

Woollen manufacture.

The next point requiring special attention, is the progress of the woollen manufactures, as it marks an important stage in the progress of England from a purely agricultural state, to that of the greatest manufacturing country in the world. On his return from

[1] *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 278.

Scotland, after the Battle of Halidon Hill, Edward invited weavers and clothworkers from all parts to come and settle in England.[1] So great, indeed, was the importance of this branch of trade, that even while engaged in his last attempt to subdue the Bruce party, and at the very moment when he was also preparing for war with France, Edward thought it requisite to send from Bothwell, in the West of Scotland,[2] letters of protection for two weavers of Brabant, who were carrying on their business at York, expressing at the same time his belief, that their carrying on their business in his kingdom, would be of great advantage to the nation. [A.D. 1336.]

It has often been stated that Edward the Third introduced the woollen manufacture into England, but such is not the case.[3] It is true that, before his reign, there were but few woollen fabrics woven in England, and the principal part of our wool, up to that time, was carried abroad, to be made into cloth, and then brought back into England. The export commerce, too, of English towns was almost confined to the exportation of wool, the great staple commodity of England, upon which, in its raw or manufactured state, more than on any other, our wealth has been founded.[4] But it was the Romans who originally introduced it into England. They established manufactories in Yorkshire, and it is known that a large one was set up at Winchester to supply the Roman army. History of the woollen manufacture in England. Introduced by the Romans.

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera* (London, 1821), vol. ii. p. 849.

[2] On December 12, A.D. 1336, ibid. p. 954.

[3] The facts relative to the History of the Woollen Manufacture are taken principally from the *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England.* By John James, F.S.A., 1857. Printed at Bradford.

[4] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8°, vol. ii. p. 282.

[A.D. 1336.] Spinning was much practised by ladies in Anglo-Saxon times, principally by the younger and unmarried women, who were thence called spinsters. Of the large number of Flemish weavers who came over with William the Conqueror, many settled at Norwich, and thus laid the foundation of the commercial importance of that city. The name of that particular kind of woollen manufacture, which is called worsted, is derived, as is believed on good authority, from a place of that name in Norfolk, where many of these weavers settled. Although, however, the woollen manufacture existed in England before the time of Edward the Third, yet he so far extended, improved, and so notably encouraged this branch of trade, that from his reign may be dated a new era in its history. The Flemings were an industrious people, skilled in all manufactures, and it was to Flanders that our raw wool was principally exported.

cultivated by the Normans,

but immensely increased by Edward III.

The predecessors of Edward the Third had alternately fostered and checked the trade with Flanders. In 1304, Edward the First, having no keen insight into the value of the trade between England and that country, and being anxious to be on friendly terms with France, and to induce the King of France to banish the Scots from his kingdom, agreed, at his request, to sacrifice his friendship with the Flemings, and banish them from England. At the same time, he ordered home all his own subjects who were settled in Flanders. But the Flemings were well aware of the advantage of cultivating trade with England, and, notwithstanding the sentence of banishment, settled and married here. In 1315, therefore, Edward the Second, at the request of the King of France, repeated

Friendship with the Flemings sacrificed by Edward First.

the sentence, excluding, however, those who had taken unto themselves English wives. There were nevertheless frequent quarrels between the English and Flemings, occasioned partly, by the persistence of the latter, in refusing to give up their trade with Scotland to please the English. The marriage of Edward the Third with Philippa of Hainault naturally increased the intimacy and intercourse between England and Flanders; and in 1331, after the fall of Mortimer, when Edward was able to take the government of the country into his own hands, he sent emissaries over to Flanders to induce Flemish weavers to settle in this country. He succeeded in his efforts to increase the woollen trade, and the weavers settled principally in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex. It is evident that Edward and his Queen took a great personal interest in the manufacture, for they frequently visited Norwich, where most of the Queen's countrymen lived. The weavers, however, were looked on with much jealousy and were often ill-treated, and the King therefore took them under his special protection.[1] The English were, for some time, unable to produce or finish cloth of the finest quality, but the sheep were of so good a breed that, in 1338, the exportation of live rams "for the improvement" of foreign wool was forbidden;[2] ten years later, however, an English flock was smuggled out of England into Spain, and is said to have been the source of the fine Spanish wool.[3]

[A.D. 1336.]

Edward III. encourages Flemish weavers to settle in England.

Exportation of English sheep forbidden, but some smuggled into Spain.

On the 30th of February 1337, the King gave his consent to an Act, having for its object the promotion of the woollen manufactures,—by com-

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 23. [2] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 1034.
[3] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 539.

[A.D. 1336.] pelling his subjects to wear English cloth, forbidding the exportation of wool, and again offering encouragement to foreign weavers to settle in England. The Act was, however, far from impartial, for by it the King and his family, and all persons possessed of a certain income, were allowed to wear what they pleased, so that it was only the inferior classes who came under its provisions. The words of the Statute are as follows:—"It is accorded by our Sovereign Lord the King, that no merchant, foreign or denizen, nor none other, shall bring, nor cause to be brought, any wools out of the realm, till by the King and his Council it be otherwise provided: that no man nor woman, great nor small (the King, Queen, and their children only excepted), shall wear no cloth other than is made in England, Ireland, Wales, or Scotland: that no merchant shall bring into the said lands any cloths made in any other places than in the same: that no man nor woman (the King, Queen, and their children, the Prelates, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Ladies, and people of Holy Church, which may expend by year £100 of their benefices at least, only except) shall wear no fur in his clothes: and lastly it is accorded, that all the clothworkers of strange lands, of whatsoeyer country they be, which will come into England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, within the King's power, shall come safely and surely, and shall be in the King's protection and safe-conduct, to dwell in the same lands, choosing where they will; and to the intent, the said clothworkers shall have the greater will to come and dwell here, our Sovereign Lord the King will grant them franchises, as many and such as may suffice them."[1]

Act 11th Edward III. as to wearing English made cloths.

[1] 2 Ed. III. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 280.

It is not to be assumed, however, that these enactments, for the encouragement of manufacturing industry, were passed purely with a view to the benefit of the King's English subjects. In fact, he raised a considerable part of his revenue from the export of wool, and acted as a kind of merchant on his own account. He therefore availed himself of the condition of the enactment, "till by the King and his Council it be thereof otherwise provided," to set aside, so far as related to himself, that part of the Act which forbade such export.[1] On the 27th of July in the following year (A.D. 1338), the Parliament having granted the King the right to purchase 20,000 sacks of wool, he immediately ordered the whole to be shipped to Antwerp. He thus promoted the manufacturing industry of that city, regardless of its effect on that of England. Had he taken this course, from an enlarged view of the advantage of the freedom of commerce, he would have been entitled to take high rank as a wise administrator; but in this, as in other similar transactions, there can be but little doubt, that the raising of money for his selfish wars, was his only motive. If the account given by Knighton, the Canon of Leicester, is to be relied on, Edward made a considerable profit on the wool thus exported, as, according to this historian, he bought it for about three pounds (nine marks) the sack, and sold it for twenty.[2] Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1340, the export of wool seems to have been permitted, on condition of a certain quantity of silver being brought back in return,[3] wool being almost our only means of

[A.D. 1336.]

But the King, nevertheless, exports the wool granted to him.

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8°, vol. ii. p 386.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1051 and 1054; Knighton, col. 2570.

[3] 14 Ed. III. Stat. i. c. 21.

[A.D. 1336.] getting silver at that time. It then became necessary, for the King to take care, that he had for himself the first chance in buying and selling; and it was provided, in 1341, "That no merchant, nor other, buy nor carry wools out of the land between this and the Feast of St. Michael next coming, to the intent that the King be served of that, that to him is granted; and that they which have wools shall be bound to sell according to the sort and price of the country."[1] He had previously found the necessity of preventing competition with himself. On the 10th of March 1338, he wrote from Westminster to the Sheriff of York, stating that, whereas the last Parliament had granted him a certain number of sacks of wool, it would be a great damage to him, if foreign and English merchants were allowed to buy and export wool; he therefore forbade the purchase of wool by any one, until the wool granted to him had been collected together.[2] But this intimation seems to have been insufficient, and it was therefore necessary, in 1341, to pass the Act of Parliament just quoted.

Export of wool permitted, but the King to be first served in buying and selling.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that these various regulations, relative to the export of wool and the residence of foreigners in England, were quite contrary to the true principles of commerce. It would have been more to the interest of the country, if Edward had allowed trade to take its natural course without any restrictions whatever; had permitted English wool to be sold, wherever purchasers were to be found; and, had allowed foreigners to settle in England, without any especial and favourable privileges on their behalf on the one hand, or on behalf of his own subjects on

Edward's legislation contrary to true principles of commerce.

[1] 15 Ed. III., Stat. iii. c. 5. *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 298.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1022. (London, 1821.)

the other. But it must be recollected that at that time the commercial intercourse between different countries was, comparatively, very limited; that all nations were, till freedom of trade was established between them, as jealous of each other, in such matters, as were, at one time, England and France; that duties on exports were then thought the best means of raising revenue; and, that the best way of encouraging that branch of manufacture, which was considered especially suited to any particular nation, was supposed to be, that of forbidding the import of similar products from foreign countries. [A.D. 1336]

The King, as already stated, derived a large income from the duty paid on every sack of wool sent abroad. In one year (A.D. 1354) he even received the then enormous sum of eighty thousand pounds and upwards from this source.[1] The duty was collected at places or ports called Staples, where the King's Staple was said to be established; those who exported goods from thence were called Merchants of the Staple, and they seem to have been first formed into the Society of "The Mayor and Merchants of the Staple" in 1313.[2] The word, in its original sense, denoted, a place or port, to which goods were required to be brought, for payment of the customs, before they could be sold or exported. Previous to the time of Edward the Third, the articles on which customs were paid, were wool, woolfels (woolskins), leather, and tin; but, in his reign, woollen cloths and worsted also became articles of the Staple. The Staple was appointed sometimes in England, and sometimes in foreign countries. At the beginning of Edward's reign Wool Staples.

[1] M'Pherson's *History of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 553.

[2] Ibid. p. 478.

[A.D. 1336.] staples were appointed to be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, London, Winchester, Exeter, and Bristol; at Dublin, Drogheda, and Cork, for Ireland; Shrewsbury, Carmarthen, and Cardiff, for Wales; Lostwithiel and Truro for the tin of Cornwall, and Ashburton for that of Devonshire. The places were, however, changed from time to time; were sometimes appointed abroad; were at one time (2 Ed. III. c. 9) abolished [1] altogether; were again appointed and again abolished; till at last, in 1353, the Statute of the Staple established a more complete set of regulations for its government. There can be no doubt, that the establishment of these Staple cities, greatly facilitated the arbitrary raising of the royal revenues; but, at the same time, they must have equally checked the progress of trade, by limiting the markets at which all goods of a particular class were to be sold; and, the constant change of the localities, at which these Staples were established, must have introduced an element of uncertainty and confusion in mercantile transactions most injurious to commerce.

Statute of the Staple.

In the course of the history of Edward's reign, it will frequently be seen, that commercial privileges, and especially those having relation to the export or manufacture of wool, and the import of cloth, were held out as inducements to alliances; but these facts will be noticed at the time of their occurrence, and some account of Edward's measures relative to English commerce having been given, the thread of the History may now be resumed.

[1] March 3rd, 1334, Rymer, vol. ii. p. 879.

Map 2

THE ORIGIN OF THE KINGDOMS OF WESTERN EUROPE

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Edw.d Weller

CHAPTER VI.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE—ENGLAND'S FOREIGN ALLIANCES: THEIR ORIGIN AND OBJECT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the exchange of courtesies between Edward and Philip, and their plan of an united crusade to the Holy Land, it had now become evident that there was no chance of peace. Day by day the hostility of France increased; and the unsettled state of other bordering countries, whose interests could not fail to be involved in a struggle between England and France, showed plainly that a war of no ordinary extent would soon break out. A.D. 1336. War becomes certain.

The shores of England were not safe from French invasion; the English provinces in France were vexed and harassed by the French; the Flemish weavers eagerly sought the help of England against their tyrannical ruler, who was the ally of France; the Count of Artois, who was England's ally, was at violent enmity with Philip; and the Emperor, who had set up an anti-Pope and received the Imperial Crown at his hand, was also at variance with Philip for supporting the legitimate Pope. These circumstances combined to induce Edward to determine on war with France, and enabled him to form alliances against Philip.

Edward's assertion of his right to the throne of France, at the beginning of his reign, having been so

A.D. 1336. long left in abeyance, and his disputes with France, which he so continually endeavoured to settle, having had reference solely to Philip's encroachments in Aquitaine, it becomes doubtful whether Edward's claim to the throne was the real cause of the war; but he soon found it necessary to make it his pretext, and to style himself King of France. The resolve of Philip to wrest Aquitaine from the rule of the King of England, and Edward's determination to keep it, were, seemingly, its main and true cause. Philip wished to destroy feudalism; and to reduce Aquitaine to the same state of dependence on the throne of France, as that to which he had reduced all the other great fiefs held of the French Crown,[1] and thus to consolidate France into one homogeneous kingdom. His object was a most wise one; but, it was not to be expected, that Edward would quietly submit to occupy the comparatively degraded position, destined by Philip for him and for the other lords of the various provinces of which France was then composed; a collision between the two therefore became inevitable.

Causes of war with France.

Actuated by this motive, Philip had continually encroached in Aquitaine; and, rejecting Edward's repeated offers to treat with him, had made the English seas unsafe for English commerce, until, at last, he goaded Edward into the temporary relinquishing of his designs on Scotland, leaving Baliol to take care of himself, and making active preparations for war with France. At the end of the year 1336, the English fleets were assembled at Portsmouth and Orewell, and when his Council met him in London to consider the state of his relations with France,

Philip's encroachments in Aquitaine.

[1] Sismondi, vol. ix. p. 449.

Edward again asserted England's dominion over the sea, and made preparations for war.[1] A.D.1336.

Edward makes foreign alliances.

To enable Edward to wage war successfully on the continent of Europe, it was necessary for him to make alliances with foreign Powers, and secure the friendship of such persons as had influence there. For this purpose, at the suggestion of the Count of Artois, he sent to consult his brother-in-law the Count of Hainault, now also Count of Holland, as to war with France; finding the Count well-disposed to support him, he sent over a special commission to him, on the 16th December, and also to the Count of Juliers who had married Queen Philippa's sister, to empower them to make alliances for him.[2]

The origin of the kingdoms of Western Europe.

In order, however, to explain properly the various circumstances connected with the alliances thus formed by Edward, it is necessary to give a sketch of the origin, extent, and mutual relations of the political divisions of Western Europe.

The Western Empire founded on the Roman Empire.

The Continental kingdoms of Western Europe all sprang, originally, from the great Western Empire, which itself arose out of the ruins of that of Rome. This mighty empire was founded in A.D. 800, when Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the West (or of the Romans) by Pope Leo the Third. It comprised the whole of France, a considerable part of Spain, the greater part of Germany, and all Italy except that which, till A.D. 1860, formed the kingdom of Naples.

In the year 847 this empire was divided among the three sons of Lewis the Pious (or le Debonair),

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 950, 951, 953, and 954: "Progenitores nostri, Reges Angliæ, domini maris et transmarini passagii, totis temporibus præteritis, extiterunt."

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 56; and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 955.

A.D. 1336. who had succeeded his father Charlemagne. The greater part of France fell to the share of Charles the Bald, and became a separate kingdom, if such a name can be given to a collection of fiefs whose lords hardly acknowledged the King of the Franks even as their feudal superior. Lorraine and Italy, with the title of Emperor, fell to the share of Lothaire, the eldest son, and Germany was ruled over by Louis.[1] The geographical limits of these three kingdoms were as follows:—

The Western Empire divided among the sons of Louis le Debonair.

Limits of the three kingdoms.

FRANCE comprised all between the Atlantic and the rivers Rhone, Saone, and the Upper Meuse on the north and east, and Spain on the south.[2] LORRAINE, or Lothringen (so called from Lothaire), extended from the mouth of the Rhine to Provence, and was bounded by that river on one frontier, and by France on the other.[3] GERMANY consisted of that part of Charlemagne's empire which lay beyond the Rhine.[4]

The Empire nearly reunited by Charles the Fat, son of Louis of Germany, but, at his deposition in A.D. 888, eight distinct kingdoms sprang from its ruins. These were—GERMANY, which was bounded by the Rhine and Elbe; LORRAINE, by the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt; FRANCE, by the ocean, the Pyrenees, the Rhone, the Saone, and the Meuse; BURGUNDY, at first formed two divisions under the

The Empire nearly reunited; but at the death of Charles the Fat divided into eight kingdoms.

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8° (1841 ed.) vol. i. p. 14.

[2] Francia Occidentalis, that is to say, Neustria and Aquitainé.—Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*, new edition (1866), p. 85.

[3] "To Lothar, who as Emperor must possess the two capitals Rome and Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), a long and narrow kingdom stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean."—Ibid.

[4] "Lewis received all east of the Rhine—Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, Austria, Carinthia, with possible supremacies over Czechs and Moravians beyond. Throughout these regions German was spoken."—Bryce, p. 85.

names of PROVENCE or CISJURANE BURGUNDY, and TRANSJURANE BURGUNDY, but these were, after a time, united in the kingdom of ARLES, which was bounded by the Mediterranean, the Rhone, the Saone, the Jura, and the Maritime Alps;[1] NAVARRE comprised the Spanish Marches; ITALY, the Frank possessions in that peninsula; and, lastly, MORAVIA, which comprised, in addition to Moravia proper, Bohemia and Pannonia as far as the Drave. But the breaking-up of the empire did not end here. The land was again subdivided among dukes and counts, on conditions which formed the basis of the feudal system. These dukes and counts were engaged in constant struggles to render themselves independent of their feudal lord paramount; but, as will be seen in the history of the present reign, the lord paramount was engaged in a struggle to absorb them, and was at last successful in this effort.[2]

A.D. 1336.

The eight kingdoms.

Of these kingdoms, or empires, the only ones whose history and geography, on account of their relation with the history of England, need be further traced out, are France and Germany. In order to understand the complicated conditions of the alliances, formed by

[1] "The kingdom of Provence or Burgundy (*Regnum Provinciæ seu Burgundiæ*)—also, though less accurately, called the kingdom of Cisjurane Burgundy—was founded by Boso in A.D. 877, and included Provence, Dauphiné, the southern part of Savoy, and the country between the Saone and the Jura. The kingdom of Transjurane Burgundy (*Regnum Jurense, Burgundia Transjurensis*)—founded by Rudolph in A.D. 888, recognised in the same year by the Emperor Arnulph—included the northern parts of Savoy, and all Switzerland between the Reuss and the Jura. The kingdom of Burgundy or Arles (*Regnum Burgundiæ Regnum Arelatense*) was formed by the union of these, under Conrad the Pacific, A.D. 937."—Bryce, pp. 437, 438.

[2] Brewer's *Historical Atlas*, 8°, 3rd edit. p. 31.

A.D. 1336. Edward, with the dukes and counts of the petty sovereignties, held as fiefs of those countries, it is necessary to know to whom they were feudally subject, and therefore to relate the rise of their feudal superiors.

Foundation of kingdom of France and its feudal dependencies.

To begin with FRANCE:—Its dismemberment soon began; about the end of the ninth century, twenty-nine provinces, or fragments of provinces, were already erected into small states, the ancient governors of which, under the names of duke, count, and viscount, had become their true sovereigns. When Hugh Capet, the representative of the Counts of Paris and Orleans, and the founder of the race of kings who ruled over France for eight hundred years, placed himself on the throne in A.D. 986, these were increased to fifty-five fiefs which were only nominally subject to the Crown.[1] Hugh Capet was their feudal superior, but they did little more than acknowledge themselves as his vassals. The possessors of six of these fiefs received afterwards the title of peers of France. These were—the Count of Flanders, whose fief stretched from the Scheldt to the Somme; the Count of Champagne; the Duke of Normandy, to whom Brittany did homage; the Duke of Burgundy, on whom the Count of Nivernois seems to have depended; the Duke of Aquitaine (also King of England), whose territory, though less than the ancient kingdom of that name, comprehended Poitou, Limousin, and most of Guienne, with the feudal superiority over the Angoumois, and some other central districts; and, lastly, the Count of Toulouse, who possessed Languedoc, with the small countries of Quercy and Rouergue, and the superiority over Auvergne.[2]

[1] Guizot's *Civilisation in France*, Lecture xxiv.

[2] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8° (1841), vol. i. p. 19.

Next turn to GERMANY:—When Louis, son of Louis le Debonair, succeeded to the throne of Germany, in A.D. 843, neither Lorraine nor Italy belonged to it. But Henry the First, surnamed the Fowler, who succeeded to the throne in A.D. 919, raised Germany to the highest rank among the states of Europe. He conquered Lorraine, which he divided into Upper Lorraine, or the Moselle, and Lower Lorraine, or Brabant. To secure these and other conquests, he resorted to a policy new to Germany, the erection of fortified towns, and granted especial privileges to those who would settle in them.[1] His son Otho was called into Italy, in A.D. 962, by the united entreaties of princes and prelates, to put an end to the divisions and weakness which prevailed over the whole kingdom. The Pope revived in his favour the imperial title, which had been thirty-eight years in abeyance, crowned him Emperor of the Romans,[2] and acknowledged him as head of the Church.[3] The title of King of the Romans, which after a time was added to that of Emperor, was first adopted by Henry the Second, great grandson of Henry the Fowler. Before his coro-

A.D. 1336.

Origin of Germany.

Origin of the Empire.

[1] Dunham's *History of the Germanic Empire*, vol. i. p. 108.

[2] "From the eleventh century to the sixteenth the invariable practice was for the monarch to be called 'Romanorum Rex semper Augustus' till his coronation by the Pope; after it, 'Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus.'"—Bryce, p. 443.

"The German King became Roman Emperor . . . . the fusion, for a time imperceptible . . . The King became more than German, the Emperor less than Roman . . . till at the end of six centuries the monarch . . . might not inappropriately be termed 'German Emperor,' . . . although this was never his legal title. Till 1806 he was "Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus.'"—Bryce, p. 139.

[3] "The Emperor's double position as head both of Church and State."—Ibid. p. 140.

A.D. 1336. nation by the Pope, in 1014, he never styled himself Emperor, but only King of the Romans, an example followed by his successors, although not regularly until the reign of Henry V.[1]

The boundaries, of the kingdoms of France and of the empire, had not been altered, when Edward the Third made alliances with the dukes and counts who were their feudatories; this sketch therefore, explains the relations which Edward's then allies bore to the Emperor and the King of France, and the peculiar conditions under which they agreed to fight with Edward against France. The Flemings and the Brabanters were his chief supporters. The principal part of Flanders was subject to France, but a portion of it, and the whole of Brabant, were held of the Emperor.

Details as to Edward's allies.

In order, however, to make intelligible these and succeeding events, it is necessary that a more particular account should be given of some of the circumstances attending these alliances, which were not perfected for nearly a year and a half. During this period, Edward seems to have been equally, and often indeed with some apparent inconsistency, engaged, at the same time, in active preparations for war and ostensibly earnest negotiations for the preservation of peace; in securing alliances by granting commercial privileges to foreigners; and contemporaneously enacting laws for the special commercial advantage of England.

The remarkable history of Robert, who claimed to be Count of Artois, and who has already been mentioned as influencing Edward's conduct, is so interesting in itself, and so curiously illustrates the manners

[1] The Holy Roman Empire is the creation of Otto the Great.—Bryce, p. 88; and see ibid. pp. 216, 219–222, 443, and 446.

of the times, that it may well claim the first place. A.D. 1336.
He formed a close friendship with Edward, but his friendship did not carry over any nation to the side of England. It produced simply a feeling of personal animosity in Philip against Edward, so virulent, that it had, without doubt, great influence, in inducing Philip to reject Edward's offers for the settlement of the quarrels between them.

Remarkable History of Robert of Artois.

Artois was separated from the royal dominions of France, and erected into an earldom by St. Louis (the Ninth) in A.D. 1237,[1] under the rule of his brother Robert. The father of the Robert who now claimed the earldom, was the only son of Robert second Count of Artois; he was killed in battle in A.D. 1297,[2] while his father was still living. The second count died in A.D. 1302; and, in despite of the apparently superior claims of his grandson, was succeeded by his daughter Mahault, wife of Otho the Fourth, Count of Burgundy. On arriving at the age of twenty-one years, in A.D. 1307,[3] Robert had appealed against this usurpation. But two of the sons of Philip the Fourth (the Fair), viz., Philip and Charles, had married Mahault's two daughters, and Philip had endeavoured to secure to them possession of the counties of both Burgundy and Artois. Robert appealed to the Parliament of France, as the legal tribunal of his feudal superior; but the Parliament—influenced by Philip, who, to suit his own purpose, pretended that the Salic law was not in force in Artois—decided against him on October the 3rd, A.D. 1307. So long as Philip the Fourth was alive Robert submitted, but throughout the reign of his

[1] Sismondi, vol. vii. p. 182. [2] Ibid. vol. ix. p. 21.
[3] Ibid. vol. x. p. 39.

31863

A.D. 1336. successors, Louis the Tenth (Le Hutin, or the Quarrelsome) and Philip the Fifth (the Long), he renewed and continued his efforts to get possession of the county. He was supported by the gentry of Artois, but he and his friends were defeated in battle by Philip the Fifth, and the French Parliament again decided against him on May 18th, A.D. 1318. When the two kings, Philip the Fifth and Charles the Fourth, who had married Mahault's two daughters, were dead, as well as Mahault herself, and when Philip's widow also was dead, and her three daughters were disputing the succession to Artois, Robert thought the time had at last come when he might renew his claims. He had married the sister of the reigning King of France, Philip the Sixth; had much assisted him in obtaining the throne; and had been of great service to him at the battle of Cassel in A.D. 1328, when Philip defeated the Flemings who had risen against their ruler Count Louis the First. At Robert's request, therefore, Philip gave him leave[1] to reopen the question before the French Parliament. His complaint was, that a grand fief of the kingdom had been granted to the female to the prejudice of the male line. At the very moment (June 6th, A.D. 1329) that the Count of Artois obtained leave for the hearing of his complaint, Edward the Third of England was rendering homage to the King of France, who had succeeded to his own throne, on the very principles on which Robert sought to establish his claims to the earldom of Artois.

His claim to the Earldom

inconsistently disputed by Philip.

Robert's cause having been, already, twice decided by the Parliament of Paris, it was now necessary for him to produce fresh evidence in support of his claims.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 41.

The trial proceeded. Fifty witnesses deposed that when Robert's father, Philip of Artois, married Blanche, daughter of the Duke of Brittany, in 1280, his father, the reigning Count, engaged that the earldom should pass to his children.[1] The necessity for any such engagement does not appear, but fifty witnesses deposed to its having been entered into. Suddenly, during the trial, the King turned against Robert. He accused him of having poisoned Mahault and her daughter Joan, widow of Philip V., of producing false witnesses, and of forging documents in support of his claims, with the help of a girl of Divion. This girl had been a mistress of the Bishop of Arras, and had, it was said, taken the seals off various ancient documents with which her lover the Bishop had supplied her, and attached them to those produced in Court. The girl, under torture, confessed to the forgery, and the Parliament of course decided against Robert. But it was not until August, A.D. 1331, that he was summoned to answer the charge of forgery. Having no confidence in the tribunal he did not appear, and the girl of Divion, who was accused of being his accomplice, was burnt. Robert escaped to Brussels, and sentence of banishment was pronounced against him.

A.D. 1336.

Decision against Robert.

In those days, the belief in magic was almost universal. The Pope, John XXII.,[2] believed in the intervention of infernal powers when invoked by sorcerers, and had contributed to the spread of this belief in France. Philip was a firm believer in the diabolical art, and became convinced that Robert had made use of its wicked devices to work him harm. Robert was equally a believer, and, deceived by im-

Belief in magic.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 42. [2] Ibid. vol. x. p. 74.

A.D. 1336. postors who promised to give him power to wreak vengeance on Philip for deciding against him, endeavoured to avail himself of their help.

In October, A.D. 1333, by the advice of these pretenders, he caused a certain monk, named Henry Sagebran, of the Order of the Holy Trinity, to be brought to him at Namur. After making him swear to keep the secrets he was about to reveal, Robert opened a little chest and took out of it a wax figure about eighteen inches long, with hair on its head, and made to represent a young man. The monk wished to touch it, but Robert would not let him. "Do not touch it, brother Henry," said Robert, "it is all made and baptized; they sent it me from France, made and baptized; it wants nothing, and it is made against John of France (the King's eldest son), and in his name, and to grieve him. But I want another, and I want to have it baptized." "For whom is it?" said brother Henry. "It is against a she-devil," said Robert; "it is against the Queen. She is not a Queen, but a she-devil. As long as she lives she will never do any good; she will do nothing but grieve me. As long as she lives I shall have no peace; but if she were dead, and her son were dead, I should have peace with the King, for I could do with him just as I liked. I have no doubt of it. I pray you to baptize it for me; for it is all made, and only wants baptism. I have the godfathers and godmothers ready, and everything that is wanted, except baptism. There is nothing more to do but to baptize a child, and say the names that belong to it." The monk refused to have anything to do with the matter; but, shortly afterwards, he and other agents employed by Robert for sorcery were arrested and thrown into prison in Paris. When Philip heard of this he was greatly terrified, for

He resorts to sorcery.

he had no doubt that if the thing had once been baptized by a lawful priest, Robert could have made both his wife and his son die slowly, by letting the images melt away in the sun, or have killed them at once, by piercing the things in the place of the heart with a needle. Robert was no less alarmed; the horror inspired by the practice of magic might, he felt, be his ruin. He feared he should be given up to the King of France, and so, early in A.D. 1334, escaped into England, disguised as a merchant, and begged Edward to protect his life. Edward received him hospitably, and thereby roused Philip's rage much more against himself, and increased his desire to make war with England.[1]

A.D. 1336. He flies to England.

During this and the two following years Philip was constantly trying to goad Edward into war; Edward was as constantly trying to stave it off, at least until he had conquered Scotland. In December, A.D. 1336, Philip, in conformity with his plans of encroachment in Aquitaine, and mortified at the escape of Robert, wrote to the seneschal of Bordeaux, Edward's lieutenant, to say, that his master was bound, by faith and loyalty as a peer of France, to give up to him his mortal enemy Robert, and to have him taken to some place in the kingdom, so secure that Philip could send his people to receive him and take him away. Edward paid no attention to this, and accordingly Philip, on the 3rd of March, A.D. 1337, issued a prohibition "to all men, liege and free, of whatsoever state they may be, living in the kingdom, or out of the kingdom, from giving Robert advice, comfort, help, assistance, in any manner whatsoever, or suffering him to remain in their territories."[2] Edward felt that this was directed

Philip tries to goad Edward into war.

Friendship between Edward and Robert of Artois.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. pp. 75–78; and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 49.

[2] Ibid. vol. x. p. 106.

A.D.1336. against himself; as, however, he had not received Robert into a fief of the King of France, he took no notice of it, but rather increased his favours to him. On April 23rd, A.D. 1337,[1] he wrote to the keepers of his castles of Guildford, Wallingford, and Somerton, to allow Robert to live in them "with his family, his horses, and his harness," and he gave him a "special licence" to "hunt and take game in our park at Guildford;" and on May 3rd,[2] writing from Dunstable, he gave him a pension of 1,200 marks a year. Robert thus contracted an intimate friendship with Edward, and had much influence in instigating him to go to war with France, and, as already stated, suggested his making alliances in Flanders.

The grounds, on which an alliance with the various countries bordering on France became necessary to Edward, and the means by which he succeeded in forming them, must now be stated.

A firm alliance with the Flemings was of great importance to Edward, partly on account of the commercial intercourse between England and Flanders, and partly because the most convenient access to France was through that country. Edward, therefore, gladly availed himself of an opportunity that offered itself of securing them as his allies. For a long time he treated with their ruler; but eventually it became necessary to abandon this course, and throw himself into the hands of the nation at large. The difficulties into which this course led him, explain to some extent the singular inconsistencies of Edward's conduct in his negotiations with the Flemings. Their Count, Louis the First, had no sympathy with the

Edward makes an alliance with the Flemings.

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 967. (London, 1821.)
[2] Ibid. p. 969.

love of liberty engendered among his subjects by their commercial pursuits, and cared nothing for their prosperity, so long as he derived from them sufficient revenue to enable him to enjoy himself at Paris, where he almost always lived. They were constantly in revolt against his tyranny, and Louis doubtlessly thought they were encouraged by the English. By the advice, therefore, of Philip, who never lost an opportunity of injuring Edward's subjects, Count Louis ordered all the English in Flanders to be seized and thrown into prison.[1] On the 5th October, A.D. 1336,[2] Edward retaliated by issuing similar orders relative to the Flemings in England, and shortly afterwards, on October 18th,[3] wrote letters of complaint to Count Louis and to the burgomasters of Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent. These burgomasters were a body of sturdy independent magistrates, to whom the government of the towns was entrusted; after a time they willingly treated with England for assistance, and thus, eventually, Flanders became associated with England against France.[4] A.D. 1336.

Edward makes an alliance with the Brabanters,

The friendship of the Duke of Brabant, was also of great importance to Edward, who was, at this time, more inclined to ally himself with the Brabanters than with the Flemings. There seems to have been a temporary estrangement between Edward and the Flemings; for, in a letter from Edward, dated the 18th March, to the King of Castile, asking him to forbid his subjects from having any dealings with the Flemings, he adds, as his reason, "because they have joined his enemies;" nevertheless, in the following month, he directed his ambassadors to treat with the

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 103.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 948.
[3] Ibid. p. 948.
[4] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 103.

A.D. 1337. Count of Flanders for the marriage of his second daughter, Joan, with the Count's son. Be this, however, as it may, Edward was now desirous of making an alliance with the Duke of Brabant. The Brabanters were the great rivals of the Flemings in the wool manufacture, and the Duke asked Edward to establish a staple in his Duchy. On the 3rd of December, A.D. 1336, Edward answered, that he could not do so, without security for the safe going and coming of English merchants carrying wool there, and that the wools should not be made use of by the Flemings. He told the Duke, however, that certain merchants should go over from England to consider the subject with him.[1] The result was, that on the 10th of February the King granted the Duke's request, and gave leave for staples to be established in Brussels, Louvain, and Mechlin.[2]

and establishes staples in Brabant.

Edward sends ambassadors abroad to make alliances and commercial treaties.

Edward's anxiety to secure foreign alliances must have been great, for, regardless of its effect on English manufactures, in the following month, on the 15th of April, he appointed the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Huntingdon, as his ambassadors to treat with any foreign powers relative to the export of wool, and sent them abroad for that purpose.[3] Their suite was numerous and brilliant, and there were among them many young knights-bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth, so that they could not see with it. It was said that they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France.[4]

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 952. [2] Ibid. p. 959.
[3] Ibid. p. 966. [4] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 58.

These ambassadors had power also to treat with the Count of Flanders for the settlement of all differences between him and Edward, and even for a marriage between their children. It seems, therefore, that Edward still sided with Count Louis more than with his subjects, but soon afterwards he made a firm alliance with one of the leaders of the latter, who eventually became one of his principal advisers in the war with France. This was James van Artevelde. He is usually called "the Brewer of Ghent," and is often, on the authority of Froissart (who, however, in his earlier MSS. had given a very different account of him[1]), represented as a mere upstart demagogue, anxious only to raise himself into despotic power. This, however, was not the case. He was allied by birth to the most noble families of Flanders,[2] was brought up at the Court of France,[3] and had merely associated himself with the company or guild of brewers,[4] just as members of the Royal Family of England sometimes do with similar companies in the City of London at the present day. He was undoubtedly strongly opposed to the selfish oppressions of Count Louis, and sided with the traders. He was a man of great eloquence; he gained the confidence of the clergy, who lent him money; he was beloved by the merchants, because he promoted commerce, and by means of English wool had found work for the weavers; and the soldiers also were proud of him.[5] Artevelde saw the advantage of a friendship between the two nations, and on the arrival of the English ambassadors, "he and his grandfather, Sohier

A.D. 1337.

They make an alliance with James van Artevelde, called by his enemies, "The Brewer of Ghent."

His History.

[1] *Examen critique des Historiens de Jaques van Artevelde.* Par Auguste Voisin, Bibliothecaire et Professeur à l'Université de Gand, p. 24. (Gand, 1841.)

[2] Ibid. p. 4.

[3] Ibid. p. 17.

[4] Ibid. pp. 11, 12.

[5] Ibid. p. 20.

A.D. 1337. le Courtroisin, gave them a brilliant reception, and by his influence the three Flemish towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with England."[1] Shortly after this, Van Artevelde was made ruwaert or regent[2] of Flanders, and the Count was driven, for a short time, out of his territories; but yet, Van Artevelde did not attempt to grasp at sovereignty over Flanders during the Count's absence, and the sturdy Flemings took jealous care that he should not infringe their laws, or the principles on which their government was founded. They reserved to themselves the paramount authority, of which the executive power only was intrusted to Van Artevelde;[3] and, indeed, on one occasion, when Van Artevelde was grossly insulted by one Steenbeke, and in retaliation attacked Steenbeke's house, the magistrates let him know that he could not with impunity attack the domicile of a citizen, and Van Artevelde at once submitted.[4]

Edward's alliance with the Count of Gueldres.

There was another ruler whom Edward had already secured as an ally. This was Reynald the Second, Count of Gueldres and Zutphen, a feudatory of the Emperor, who was married to Edward's sister Eleanor in 1332.[5] In the following spring, Edward agreed with him, the Count of Hainault, and the Margrave of Juliers, that they should furnish him with 1,000 (or 2,000 if necessary) men-at-arms to fight against the French.[6]

[1] *Examen critique des Historiens de Jaques van Artevelde.* Par Auguste Voisin, Bibliothecaire et Professeur à l'Université de Gand, pp. 36, 37.

[2] Ibid. p. 64. [3] Ibid. p. 64. [4] Ibid. p. 39.

[5] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 826, 832, and 833.

[6] Ibid. pp. 970 and 971 (May 24, 1337), and pp. 984 and 985 (July 12).

It is singular that, notwithstanding the treaty made with Brabant relative to the export of wool, an Act was passed, at the Parliament assembled at Westminster in the following month, forbidding the export of wool without the King's especial leave, or the use of foreign cloth, and encouraging foreign weavers to settle in England.[1] Edward was always desirous of encouraging English trade, except when he thought it desirable to act against his principles in this respect, in order to win over foreign rulers to his side, or increase his revenue.

A.D. 1337.

Edward inconsistently forbids the export of wool.

In this Parliament, many dignities were conferred. The King's eldest son was created Duke of Cornwall, being invested "by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger, and a silver verge." Since that time the eldest son of the Kings of England, being heir to the throne,[2] is born Duke of Cornwall. At the same period the King's early friend, William de Montacute, who had assisted him in seizing Mortimer, was created Earl of Salisbury; Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby; Hugh de Audley, Earl of Gloucester; William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton; Robert de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk; and William de Clynton, Earl of Huntingdon; beside whom twenty Knights were also created.[3]

Edward's son created Duke of Cornwall.

[1] *Statutes at large*, vol. i. p. 280.

[2] See *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 337.

[3] Knighton, col. 2568; Holinshed (London, 1807), vol. ii. p. 605; Walsingham, p. 197.

CHAPTER VII.

FURTHER PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—EDWARD'S FORMAL ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE, AND HIS EMBARKATION FOR FLANDERS.

A.D. 1337. THE KING, on his return to London, at the end of A.D. 1336, seeing that it was necessary to provide not only for war with France, but also even against a probable invasion of England, took measures for both objects. On the 14th of January, A.D. 1337, he issued an order from the Tower of London, appointing his early friend, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, Admiral of the fleet,[1] and captain of all the ships and places from the mouth of the Thames along the whole of the south coast. On the same day he appointed Robert Ufford (Earl of Suffolk) and John de Roos, in like manner, admirals of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames towards the north. Two days afterwards he appointed Nicholas Usumaris, a Genoese, vice-admiral of the fleet of the Duchy of Aquitaine.[2] It was necessary also to provide against the intrigues of the Pope, and the entrance of spies into England, and to prevent the surreptitious introduction of treasonable letters into the country—

Edward prepares for war and against invasion,

appoints admirals and builds ships.

[1] "The first time an officer with that title was appointed."—Nicolas, *Brit. Navy*, vol. i. p. 25.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 956 and 957.

which had often been accomplished through the priests—and therefore no one was allowed to leave the country without license, and all persons arriving at Dover from abroad were carefully searched for letters. A.D.1337.

Method of providing ships of war.

The usual method of providing ships of war at this time, was by calling on various cities and ports to furnish a certain number, or by impressing merchant-vessels. In accordance with this practice, Edward wrote to the city of Bayonne, calling on the citizens to furnish him with ships of war well fitted out, and send them to England, carefully peeping into the Normandy ports on their way.[1] This system, when applied to England, was found to be grievously burthensome to the country, beside being unconstitutional; and, so soon began the opposition (continued by the patriot Hampden, in the 17th century, with such important results) to arbitrary taxation, by means of the levy of ships and ship money, without consent of Parliament, that, towards the end of the reign, when Parliament began to take more power into its own hands, it was strongly remonstrated against.

Important opposition to the method.

The King had ships of his own.

But it is clear that the King had also ships of his own, for he wrote from King's Langley, in Hertfordshire, to the Prior of Blithe (Blida), directing him to send eighty oaks to Kingston-on-Hull, to be used in building ships. About the same time, finding that two of his ships, the "Christopher" and "Cogge Edward," required fresh anchors, he wrote to the Sheriffs of London ordering them to purchase for him 5,000 pounds of iron, 200 planks of Estland, and 100 quarters of sea-coal for their manufacture,

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 963 and 965.

A.D. 1337. and for other operations at the Tower;[1] and he promised to give an order on the Treasury for the amount of their cost. Shortly afterwards, the King ordered "those two great oaks," which the Earl of Surrey had given him from his forest of Werch, to be sent to the Tower, for the supports of a certain great machine he was constructing there.

Edward continues to offer peace and make ready for war.

An outward appearance of peaceable intentions was, however, constantly kept up on both sides. At the beginning of the year the King of France sent over an ambassador to try to bring about an amicable settlement;[2] and in the middle of April, Edward sent ambassadors to France for a like purpose;[3] but they had no success, and Edward did not cease to prepare for war. Great, indeed, was the necessity for readiness, and little ground had Edward for thinking that Philip would continue at peace so long as England held a foot of ground in France. France and Scotland gave each other mutual aid. The Scots, knowing that England must soon be at war with France, rejected all overtures for peace; while France, well aware of the importance of preventing an alliance between Scotland and England, continued secretly to help the Scots. Edward was now called to the North of England, to resist the Scots, who had, immediately on his departure, recommenced their attacks on the English garrisons, and had now laid siege to Stirling.[4] On his way he learned that "certain adherents of the Scots," who were either French, or set on by the King of France, had invaded the Channel Islands; and Edward therefore wrote from York, in May,

Mutual aid given by France and Scotland.

Siege of Stirling.

Invasion of the Channel Islands.

[1] "Bordas de Estland," Rymer, vol. ii. p. 958.
[2] January 28, 1337, ibid. p. 958.
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 966, 967. [4] Walsingham, p. 199.

to the clergy and barons of those islands, appointing Thomas Ferrars as governor, and ordering him to make levies to resist further invasions.[1] About the same time (on May 24th) his ambassadors made alliances with the Counts of Hainault and Gueldres, and with the Margrave of Juliers, and settled the terms of payment for the soldiers they were to furnish.[2] A.D. 1337.

Brabanters allowed to buy wool in England.

Having, in the previous February, as already related, granted leave for the establishment of wool-staples in Brabant, and arranged for the safe passage of merchants carrying wool thither,[3] Edward now made arrangements to allow the Brabant merchants to buy wool in England. It was agreed that two burgesses should come from each town that required a supply of wool, with open letters from the Duke stating how much was wanted for half a year. But it was added (which shows how little hope Edward had of avoiding war) that "if peace be not made in half a year, of which we much doubt," the permission was to be renewed from half-year to half-year till peace was concluded.[4] The next month (on June 12th) he wrote from Berwick-on-Tweed, giving orders relative to provisioning the fleet at Portsmouth, and actually ordering it to be got ready for his passage to Aquitaine.

Edward sends a fleet to protect the ambassadors on their return.

The ambassadors, appointed by Edward to make alliances in the Low Countries, having now accomplished the objects of their embassy, were ready to return to England; but, so unceasing were the machinations of France against England, it was unsafe

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 969.
[2] Ibid. pp. 970, 971, 973.
[3] Ibid. p. 959.
[4] Ibid. p. 971.

A.D. 1337. for them to cross the sea without a strong escort. "Foreigners and pirates" had gathered together to waylay them on their return. Edward therefore wrote (on June 20th) to John de Roos, admiral of the northern fleet, ordering him to set sail from Yarmouth to Dordrecht with forty well-armed ships, to protect them on their way back to England.[1] On their voyage they met with two Flemish ships sailing to Scotland with 240 Scotchmen on board—among whom were the Bishop of Glasgow and many young nobles—and a considerable amount of money, about 15,000*l.*, sent doubtless by the Count of Flanders or the King of France to assist the Scots in defraying the expenses of their war with England. These were all taken prisoners and carried to Sandwich.[2]

Two Flemish ships and treasure taken by the English fleet.

Edward writes to Bayonne to say that Philip disdains peace.

The King of France having refused all Edward's overtures for peace, the latter (on June 27th) wrote to the citizens of Bayonne, saying that he wished for peace with France, but that Philip "disdained to consent to peace;" he therefore begged them to send as many ships as possible to England, and, repeating the order he had given three months before, desired the admiral, Nicholas Usumaris, to look into the French ports as he passed, and destroy all ships fitted out against the English which he might find there. At the same time Edward also wrote to the citizens of Bordeaux and other "communities" of Aquitaine, promising to make no peace with France without including them.[3]

Enormous expenses.

All these warlike preparations required large supplies of money. Edward's allies could not be expected to provide him with soldiers, without payment; the

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 974.
[2] Walsingham, p. 198; and Knighton, col. 2570.
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 977.

Duke of Brabant was promised the enormous sum of 60,000*l.* for his assistance.[1] Independently of heavy taxation, Edward raised money by ordering (on July 1st) all the "priories alien," belonging to the King of France in England, to be seized, and their value to be paid into the exchequer. A.D. 1337.

War was not yet declared between England and France; but, notwithstanding the nominal peace between the two countries, France actually made preparations for the invasion of England. Early in July, therefore, Edward, who had now returned to London, appointed Theobald Russel to be governor of the Isle of Wight and Channel Islands, giving him power to levy troops for their defence. Shortly afterwards, he ordered greater activity to be shown in the defence of the Isle of Thanet, and the castles of North and South Wales to be put in order, so as to be ready to repel the French invaders wherever they might land.[2] Arrangements to resist invasion.

As one of the means of raising money for his heavy expenses, Edward had obtained permission to buy 20,000 sacks of wool. This somewhat singular arrangement brings to light one of the ways in which the King obtained his supplies, and a most cumbrous and mischievous way it was. The wool itself was not granted to him, but only the right to buy it (which was, in effect, a right to pre-emption), and the profit he could make by selling it was the amount of subsidy he received. He thus became a merchant on his own account, and interfered, consequently, with all the regular course of trade. He allowed no wool to be bought or sold till he had Subsidy granted to the King in the form of wool.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 981. [2] Ibid. pp. 983, 984, 987.

A.D. 1337. obtained his 20,000 sacks,[1] and he impressed ships, to the great inconvenience of their owners and the merchants in general, to carry the wool to Brabant, where he intended to sell it. These ships were kept waiting for the wool, in the Thames and other places, the whole summer and autumn, and it is no wonder that later in the reign, when political intrigues had increased political liberty, such practices should have been deprecated. But there was still another difficulty and complication in the transaction. The King could not, of course, buy and sell in his own person, and he therefore employed ninety-six merchants to do so for him. They were to advance the King the sum of 200,000*l.* As security for this payment, he assigned to them all the customs-duties throughout the kingdom; as remuneration for their trouble, he granted to them one-half of the profit on the transaction. The sellers received tallies on delivery of the wool, and the "obligatory letters of payment" were made out in the King's name. The merchants, therefore, had but little risk, and acted only as middlemen; and, inasmuch as they, who were to a large extent able to dictate to the owners what should be the price of the wool, gave only 3*l.* a sack for it, and sold it for 20*l.*, they must have been exorbitantly paid for their trouble; while the king (or rather the kingdom) did not ultimately realise any adequate amount, from this very circuitous and costly mode of what was in reality arbitrary taxation.[2]

His difficulty in selling it.

Preparations for war still continued, and the con-

[1] See especially Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1022, as to the King's practice in this respect.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 988 and 989; Knighton. col. 2570; and Murimuth (London, 1846), p. 83.

ditions of alliances became constantly more rigorously defined. In answer, doubtless, to a requisition from the Duke of Brabant, Edward declared (on August 20th) that he would not deliver up to "the Emperor nor to the King of Germany" certain letters, written by the Duke of Brabant to his feudal lord the Emperor, promising to serve the Emperor within the frontiers of the empire in Low Germany or elsewhere.[1] These letters had been delivered to the King of England, in consequence probably of an alliance between him and the Emperor, the effect of which was intended to be that the Emperor should support Edward in his wars. About the same time (on August 26th) he made an alliance with the Emperor against the King of France, according to which the Emperor agreed to furnish the King with 2,000 men-at-arms, and for which Edward agreed to pay him the sum of 3,000 gold florins of Florence. In this treaty, Edward, although he had not yet decided to designate himself as King of France,[2] styled his opponent as "Philip calling

A.D. 1337.

Edward's arrangements with the Duke of Brabant

and with the Emperor.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 989. It is singular that Edward should have spoken of the Emperor and of the King of Germany as two distinct persons, for they were one and the same, but the title of "King of Germany" was rarely used.

[2] Ibid. p. 991. In this letter Edward speaks of Louis as Emperor of the Romans, whereas he was only their king. The reason of this may, however, have been owing to the fact that Lewis was legally King of the Romans, having been duly elected, but that his title to the empire, which he owed to his coronation by the Anti-pope, was one that might be recognised or not as was convenient in writing to him or of him. Writing to the Pope (on Oct. 17th, 1337, Rymer, 1004) he calls him merely Sir Lewis of Bavaria, "*Domino Lodovico de Bavaria.*" In Edward's letter of August 20th both titles are given, in all probability, to prevent Edward taking advantage of Lewis's questionable title to the empire to betray the Duke to him.

A.D. 1337. himself King of the Franks," an annoying and insulting designation which he thenceforth almost invariably continued. Nor were the minutest details of preparation neglected. On the 28th of August he wrote to his chamberlains of North and South Wales, ordering that the 1,000 soldiers to be furnished by Wales should, for the sake of more hastily procuring the cloth, be all clothed in cloth of one colour. This seems to be the first instance recorded of soldiers being dressed in uniform.[1]

First clothing of soldiers in uniform.

Edward asks for supplies;

But it was still needful to raise more money; and accordingly, on the 21st of August Edward wrote to the Sheriffs of the various counties, ordering them to gather together the clergy, barons, knights, citizens, and others, at certain towns, in order to hear the King's intentions relative to war with France. On the same day he wrote to the bishops and archbishops, reciting that, the King of France having resisted all overtures for peace, he must go to war with him. He therefore ordered them to call the clergy together, to persuade them to grant such a subsidy as the necessity required "in alleviation of his expenses," and to tell him quickly how much they intended to give; and he charged them openly to publish and expound his requirements in every church, and at other places where people assembled on solemn days and feasts, "so that our faithful people, being informed of this, may grant us liberally a subsidy, and pray for us."[2] A few days afterwards (on August 28th) he sent a document to the archbishops, bishops, and sheriffs, elaborately explaining all that he had done from the beginning of his reign to preserve peace and friendship with Philip, how it was that at

and, in order to obtain them, explains elaborately the cause of the war.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 993. [2] Ibid. pp. 989, 990, 994.

length he was obliged to go to war with France, and ordering the bishops and others to make the facts known to all people in order to induce them to grant him large subsidies.[1] A.D. 1337.

In order to defend the south coast from invasion, numbers of people had been kept together at various places; but, this being found inconvenient, the King allowed them to go to their homes, providing that, in case of need, they should be assembled by bonfires.[2] Suddenly, however, the King seems to have postponed his intended invasion of France, for on the 24th of September he wrote to the authorities in Wales, to say that the Welsh soldiers need not be sent at present, as his voyage was postponed.[3] The King may have been induced by the Pope to make a final effort for peace, for, within a fortnight afterwards, he dispatched a letter of safe-conduct to two cardinals, sent by the Pope to treat for that object.[4] The cardinals did not arrive till the end of November, but, such willingness did Edward profess to avoid war, that on the 3rd of October he sent ambassadors to the King of France, giving them power to settle all causes of quarrel between him and Philip. He still, however, thought that war was probable, and, to conciliate his allies, gave his ambassadors power to treat with them for the establishment of wool-staples abroad; to renew his negotiations with Count Louis of Flanders for the marriage of his daughter Joan with the Count's eldest son; and to treat with him, and with the burgomasters of Bruges Ghent and Ypres, for the settlement of all questions between them. He also gave them power to treat with

Renewed negotiations for peace.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 995. [2] Ibid. p. 996.
[3] Ibid. p. 997. [4] Ibid. p. 1002.

A.D. 1337. the Emperor, his brother-in-law,[1] with whom, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of Pope Benedict the Twelfth, he had begun to negotiate some months before.[2]

There is a singular inconsistency or duplicity in some of the acts of Edward at this time, which it is difficult to understand. At the very time that he was making arrangements for the marriage of his daughter with the son of the Flemish Count, he began negotiations with the Duke of Austria for her marriage with his son; and a few days after he had sent ambassadors to put an end to all causes of quarrel between himself and the King of France, he wrote (on October 7th) to the Duke of Brabant, the Marquis of Juliers, the Count of Hainault, and the Earl of Northampton, appointing them his procurators and ambassadors, and directing them to let all people know that France rightly belonged to him, and to do all in their power to take possession of it. On the same day, too, he wrote to the same persons, styling himself King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, and appointing them his captains and vicars-general in France. A few days afterwards (on October 17th), anticipating the arrival of the cardinals, he wrote to the Pope justifying his going to war with Philip, calling himself "King of France." By these apparently inconsistent means, he probably wished to prepare beforehand for whatever contingency might happen, whether of war or peace.[3]

Edward calls himself King of France;

The first battle of the war took place soon after

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 998 and 999—here styled "Emperor of the Romans."

[2] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. vii. p. 442 (note *n*).

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1000, 1001, and 1004.

this; it was not however with the French, but with the brother of the very Count Louis of Flanders with whom Edward was negotiating a treaty of marriage. It must be remembered, however, that this Count had always cared more for the French Court than for his own subjects, and he now, probably on account of the alliance which Edward had about this time made with Van Artevelde, sided entirely with the French. A.D.1337. The Count of Flanders sides with France.

The ambassadors sent by Edward to Flanders, perceiving that Van Artevelde had more influence than Count Louis over the Flemings, opened negotiations with him for an alliance with the citizens of Ghent. The Bishop of Lincoln undertook this task while the other ambassadors went to Ypres and Bruges. But the burgesses, although desirous of friendship with England, were afraid of declaring war against France, and making an alliance with its enemies. The recollection of their wars had inspired them with a violent animosity against the French, who had always taken the part of their oppressors; but they could not forget that they formed a part of the kingdom of France, and were proud of their county being the first in that kingdom.[1] Van Artevelde, however, had higher views. Flanders was divided into three very distinct territories. There was Flanders under the crown, a fief of France; Flanders under the empire, of which it was a fief; and allodial Flanders, which was subject to the Count of Flanders.[2] Van Artevelde Negotiations opened with Van Artevelde.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 113; and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 60.

[2] "Quelle était la position de la Flandre, placée aux extrémités de ce mouvement de centralisation? La Flandre, le Hainaut, le Brabant étaient possédés par des comtes, des ducs, qui devaient hommage lige ou au roi de France ou à l'empire. La Flandre en

A.D. 1337. had noticed the tendency of France to absorb all dependencies into one kingdom, and wished to save Flanders from such a fate. He had also conceived the statesmanlike idea of uniting Flanders, Brabant, and the neighbouring provinces into a single sovereignty, of strengthening such union by foreign alliances, and of thus offering a more powerful opposition to France.[1]

Van Artevelde advises Edward to assume the title of King of France.

In order to get over the scruples of the burgesses, Van Artevelde suggested to the Bishop that, as Edward pretended to have a right to the throne of France, he should style himself King of France, and then interpose his authority between the Flemings and their Count, in order to secure their liberties; after this they would, he said, obey him, and neither be rebels against their lord, nor traitors to their suzerain.[2] It is doubtful whether this suggestion preceded Edward's assumption of the title of King of France on 7th October, or whether it was made by Van Artevelde in ignorance that Edward had already taken the course he advised.

His grandfather treacherously put

While these negotiations were going on, Count Louis, in order to strike terror into his subjects, inveigled Sohier the Courtroisin, Van Artevelde's grand-

particulier, la patrie d'Artevelde, était divisée en trois parties bien distinctes. Il y avait la Flandre *soubs la couronne*, relevant du roi de France; la Flandre *soubs l'empire*, relevant de l'empire; et la Flandre *allodiale*, relevant directement du comte de Flandre."*

[1] Voisin, pp. 49, 50. [2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 114.

* "Cette division importante pour l'histoire politique est parfaitement indiquée par M. Warnkœnig dans son remarquable ouvrage:" *Flandrische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 213.—*Examen critique des Historiens de Jacques Van Artevelde.* Par A. Voisin, p. 49.

father, into his power, and having got possession of him, caused him to be put to death.[1] But this act of perfidious cruelty, so far from intimidating his subjects, only exasperated them the more against him. They concluded an alliance with the English; and Louis, who had advanced with his troops to Bruges, was opposed by Van Artevelde, and obliged to fly to the island of Cadsand, at the mouth of the river Scheldt, from whence, after placing his bastard brother, Guy de Rickenburg, in command of the garrison in order to seize the English ambassadors on their return, he went back to Paris.[2] The ambassadors escaped the danger prepared for them, and on their safe arrival Edward sent a fleet under Sir Walter de Maunay to dislodge his enemies.[3] The Count of Alençon, brother of King Philip, thought that the fleet was intended for the invasion of France, and therefore assembled an army at Boulogne, expecting that Edward would attempt a landing at that port.[4] But Edward, sensible of the importance of securing the friendship of the Flemings, determined to begin by freeing them from their oppressor Louis and his officers. When Sir Walter de Maunay's fleet arrived at the island of Cadsand, on the 9th of November, the English archers quickly dispersed De Rickenburg's soldiers by their well-directed arrows from on board their vessels, after which they were able to land in safety. A sharp engagement ensued, which ended in the rout of the garrison of Cadsand, and the taking of Guy de Rickenburg prisoner.[5]

A.D. 1337.

to death by the Count of Flanders.

Alliance between England and Flanders.

Battle of Cadsand.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 60.
[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 115 and 118.
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 62.
[4] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 118.
[5] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 63.

A.D. 1337.

Edward writes to his admiral, Sir Walter de Maunay, to keep his fleet together.

The French evidently took every opportunity of threatening England, by means of ships cruising about; for, very soon after the return of the fleet, the King wrote to his admiral, Sir Walter de Maunay, to say that, on account of news lately received, he was to take care that his ships did not get separated, and that, if he found it necessary to go to sea to attack the enemy, he was not to remain afloat more than three weeks, for which time orders had been given that his ships should be supplied with provisions; but that he must take care not to injure the ships of Germany and Spain.[1]

Cardinals arrive to treat for peace,

About the end of November, Peter and Bertrand, the cardinals sent by the Pope to negotiate a peace between England and France, arrived; the King took care that they should be properly received on landing at Dover, by writing to the constable and to the guardian of the Cinque Ports to that effect, and telling them also that they must see that the Cardinals were not charged extortionately for their "victuals."[2] This, however, did not affect them much, for they were apparently kept at the cost of the Church of England, and the expense of their living was fifty marks a day.[3] The provisioning of the cardinals must have been no small matter, if we may judge by the quantity of wine

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1005 and 1006. [2] Ibid. p. 1006.

[3] Knighton's Chronicle, col. 2570.—According to Sismondi, (vol. x. p. 131, note), in order to compare the value of the money of the fourteenth century with that of the nineteenth, it is necessary to multiply the former by 24: "As the mark of silver was at that time worth 8 francs (or 6*s.* 8*d.* of English money), it is necessary to multiply by 6 to get the weight of silver in actual money, and again by 4 to obtain its exchangeable value according to the scarcity of metals." This estimate is, however, too high.—See note to *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 416.

they required, for, shortly afterwards (on the 4th January), Edward issued letters of protection to two ships going to Gascony for 150 hogsheads of wine for them.[1] Edward made arrangements to receive the cardinals with due solemnity on their arrival in London. John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, accompanied by the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, went to Shooter's Hill to meet them; and the young Duke of Cornwall (the future Black Prince), the Earl of Surrey, and several others of the nobility received them about a mile out of the city—the King himself waiting for them at the lesser hall-door of his palace.[2] They were then conducted into the Painted Chamber, where they delivered their letters from the Pope.[3] Parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 3rd of February, but, at the end of December, without waiting for its assembling, Edward, at the instance of the cardinals, wrote to them to say he would not invade France until the 1st of March, A.D. 1338, nor indeed afterwards without notice.[4] A.D. 1338.

and at their request Edward postpones invasion of France.

But Edward now received certain information that Philip was making preparations for immediate war, and had commenced aggressions. In fact, Philip, wishing to make himself master of Guienne before Edward could arrive from England to defend it, and regardless of Edward's concession to the cardinals, caused his captains to lay siege to various towns in Agenois in the month of February.[5] Edward learned also that ships

Philip continues his aggressions in Guienne.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1008.

[2] This, in 1704, was the Court of Requests.—(Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 102.)

[3] Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 607 (London, 1807).

[4] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1007 and 1009.

[5] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 130.

A.D. 1338. were fitting out against him in Genoa, and therefore, early in January, he wrote to the Genoese requesting them to abstain from such unfriendly conduct.[1]

Parliament met in February, and granted Edward the right to purchase large quantities of wool, and, on the 24th of the same month, the King wrote to his admirals, ordering them to get their fleets in readiness, as, by consent of Parliament, he was about to go abroad for the defence of his kingdom. Notwithstanding this, he on the same day issued a proclamation to the effect that, at the request of the cardinals, he had postponed the invasion of France until midsummer.[2] The cardinals left England on the 21st of March,[3] but, both before and after their departure, Edward, evidently having no faith in the peaceful intentions of Philip, continued his preparations for war. On the day after his postponement of the invasion he wrote to the authorities in Wales, to order about 1,000 lancers and archers to be got ready and sent to Ipswich in order to embark for Flanders. He also directed a like number to be sent to Portsmouth, from whence they were to embark for Aquitaine. On the 6th of March he ordered Admiral Burghersh to "arrest" seventy large ships and get them ready at Portsmouth to sail for Aquitaine, and on the 13th he wrote to the Gascons, saying that he relied on their fidelity, and thus arranged to invade France by Flanders and attack it in Aquitaine at the same time. On the 15th of the following month, he wrote to his admirals complaining of their delay, and ordering them to hurry forward, and at the same time he wrote also to the keeper of his castle at Carisbrook and to the

The cardinals leave England, and Edward continues his preparations for war.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1011. [2] Ibid. pp. 1014 and 1015.
[3] Barnes, p. 120.

Governor of the Isle of Wight, directing them to be more vigilant, as the French had actually landed at Portsmouth, and burned it and various villages in its neighbourhood. Finally, at the end of April, he fully determined to dally no longer, to be no more deceived by the useless officiousness of the Pope, or the double-dealing of Philip, but to invade France at once. Before leaving England, he appointed Richard Earl of Arundel commander of the English army in Scotland, in order that the war in that country should not suffer by his absence.[1]

A.D. 1338. and resolves to invade France.

But, notwithstanding the repeated evidence of Philip's hostile intentions, it was not till the 6th of May that Edward formally revoked his promise to the cardinals.[2] Two days afterwards he wrote to the magistrates of Ghent and Bruges, to the Duke of Brabant, and many others, expressing his pleasure at having entered into an alliance with them. On the 10th June he made a formal treaty with the Flemings, to the effect that they should be allowed to trade freely with England, and that they should not in any way interfere in the war with Scotland or with France, but remain perfectly neutral. It was also agreed on the part of the English, that they should not attack those parts of Flanders which were held of France. So carefully was the neutrality of Flanders provided for, that it was also agreed that the English fleet should not remain in any Flemish harbour for more than one tide, unless compelled to do so by a "notorious and manifest tempest," and that the ships should depart directly the storm was over. On the 11th of July, Edward appointed his eldest son Edward,

Edward revokes his promise to the Cardinals,

[1] Barnes, pp. 1016 to 1020, 1031 and 1067.

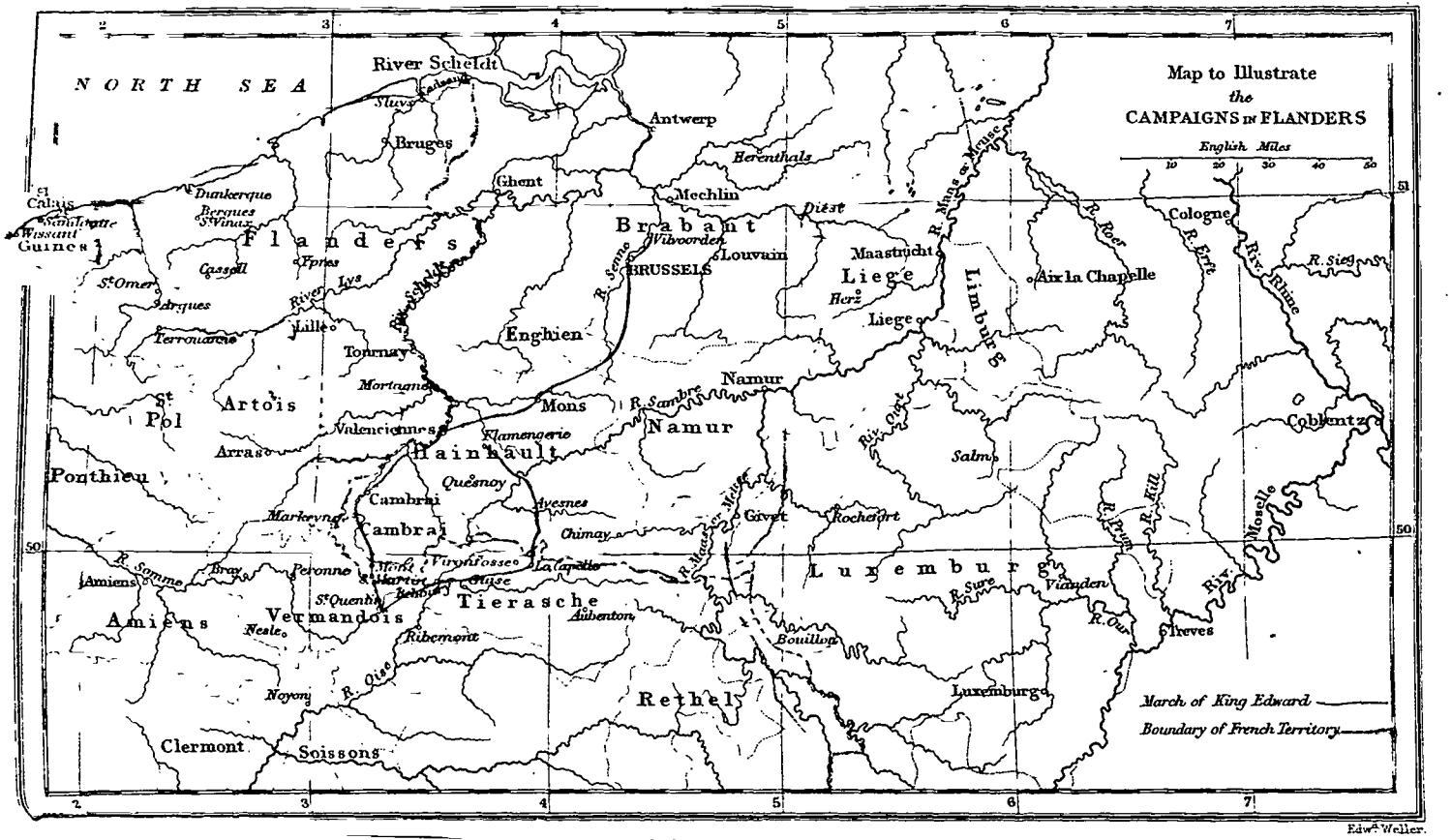
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 103.

A.D.1338. and sails from England, July 16th A.D. 1338.

Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, to be guardian of the kingdom during his absence; and on the 16th of the same month he sailed for Flanders from the port of Orewell in Suffolk,[1] accompanied by the Earls of Northampton, Derby, Suffolk, and Salisbury, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of Lincoln and Durham. His fleet consisted of 200 large vessels.[2]

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1042, 1049, and 1050.

[2] *Édouard III., Roi d'Angleterre, en Belgique. Chronique rimée écrite vers l'an* 1347 *par Jean de Klerk, d'Anvers, traduite pour la première fois en Français par Octave Delepierre.* Gand, 1841, p. 8.


Map to Illustrate
the
CAMPAIGNS in FLANDERS
English Miles
10 20 30 40 50
NORTH SEA
River Scheldt
Antwerp
Bruges
Ghent
Mechlin
Brabant
Flanders
Calais
Dunkerque
Bergues
St Winox
Wissant
Guines
Cassell
Ypres
St Omer
Arques
River Lys
Lille
Terrouenne
Tournay
Enghien
BRUSSELS
Louvain
Vilvoorden
Diest
Herenthals
R. Samme
R. Meuse
Maastricht
Liege
Herz
Limburg
Aix la Chapelle
Cologne
R. Roer
R. Erft
R. Sieg
R. Rhine
Namur
R. Sambre
Mons
Artois
St Pol
Valenciennes
Flamengerie
Hainault
Arras
Ponthieu
Quesnoy
Avesnes
Cambrai
Marienyng
Chimay
Givet
Rocheport
Cobblentz
Salms
R. Ourt
R. Meuse
R. Kill
R. Prum
Moselle
Luxemburg
R. Sure
Vianden
R. Our
Treves
Amiens
R. Somme
Bray
Peronne
Mont St Martin
Guise
La Capelle
St Quentin
Bohain
Tierasche
Vermandois
Aubenton
Bouillon
Nesle
Ribemont
Noyon
R. Oise
Rethel
Luxemburg
Clermont
Soissons
March of King Edward
Boundary of French Territory
2 3 4 5 6 7
50 51
London: Longmans & Co.
Edwd Weller.

CHAPTER VIII.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR—THE FIRST CAMPAIGN, AND ITS UNSATISFACTORY CHARACTER—EDWARD'S MORE FORMAL ASSUMPTION OF THE TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE, AND HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.

A.D. 1338.

War between England and France long inevitable.

WAR between England and France had been inevitable, not only from the time when Edward openly claimed the throne of France, but more especially when, at a later period, Philip, continuing the wise traditional policy of the Kings of France, had endeavoured to absorb the feudatories, and consequently to reduce Edward's power as Duke of Aquitaine. Hollow and insincere negotiations for peace had been carried on for ten years, and had lasted so long, because neither Edward nor Philip was willing to incur the responsibility of beginning, what could not but prove a terrible war. They also acted in obedience to the recommendations of the Popes, whose habit and interest it was to assume the character of general mediators, and whose advice no king willingly disregarded. These ceased at length, or dragged on with utter hopelessness of any good result, and the war began. The French had never ceased from giving secret help to Scotland, from encouraging piratical descents on England's shores, or from interfering with English commerce, and Edward was stung at length into a declaration of war, and an open denial of Philip's right to call himself King of France.

A.D. 1338.

Edward determined to invade France from the Northern rather than the Western side. In his subsequent campaigns, the Western shores of France gave him a more convenient access to that kingdom, but now, having secured the help of a large body of allies on the Northern and North-Eastern frontiers, he determined to commence operations from that side. His first campaign was singularly unsatisfactory and fruitless. He spent vast sums of money without gaining one important battle, and ultimately, returned to England, by permission of his creditors, without reaping one single solid advantage from the campaign.

Edward determines to invade France from the north side.

On July 22nd, A.D. 1338, Edward landed at Antwerp, and a great crowd was assembled to witness the magnificent pomp with which he disembarked. On the night of his arrival, he had an escape of his life, for a fire broke out in the house in which he lodged.[1] His first act on landing, was to repeat the revocation of the powers, granted to his ambassadors to treat for peace with Philip "calling himself King of France," which he had issued before leaving England.[2]

He lands at Antwerp and revokes his offers of peace.

Soon after the King's departure from England, the young Duke of Cornwall, then eight years old, who had been left nominal guardian of the kingdom during his father's absence—the real governors being the members of "The Great Council,"—was obliged to take measures to protect the English coasts from invasion. Philip thought the absence of the King a favourable opportunity for redoubling his efforts to injure the English, and had gathered together a vast multitude of ships filled with soldiers, in order

The Prince provides for the defence of England.

[1] *Chronique rimée*, p. 8.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1051.

to make a descent on the English shores. A vigilant watch was therefore ordered to be kept against the approach of the enemy, and it was directed that arrangements should be made, for lighting bonfires from one end of the kingdom to the other, the instant the invaders were seen.[1] At the end of September, hearing, as he said, that French and Norman ships had been gathered together to invade England, the Duke ordered his admirals to get ready to resist them.[2] In October he prepared against an invasion of the Isle of Sheppey, and a few days later he thought it necessary to order even London itself to be fortified, on the side towards the Thames, with stones and palisades. He also ordered the monks of various Priories alien to remove farther from the sea, lest, apparently, they might give aid to invaders;[3] but the Abbots and Priors throughout the country, not dependent on a foreign power, were, on the contrary, to keep nearer to the sea, and to arm all their dependents, in order to resist the invaders.[4] In all churches near the sea, it was arranged that the bells should be rung only once a day, but that in case of invasion they should all be set ringing together.[5] The alarm as to invasion did not cease, and early in the following year, the Duke sent letters to the Sheriffs of all the counties ordering them to levy troops to protect the kingdom;

A.D. 1338

His measures.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1055. [2] Ibid. p. 1060.

[3] "Quod omnes et singuli religiosi, de domino et potestate Regis Franciæ et alterius cujuscumque contra nos de inimicitiâ existentis in abbatiis prioratibus et aliis domibus religiosis infra dictum regnum nostrum prope mare situatis, ubi accessus hujusmodi inimicorum nostrorum de facili habere possit . . . . . vobis mandamus quod monachos prioratus de Lewes . . . . . de quibus suspitio habetur," &c.—Ibid. p. 1061.

[4] Ibid. p. 1062. [5] Ibid. pp. 1061 and 1066.

A.D. 1338. at the same time he wrote to the Archbishops and Bishops directing them to arm their dependents at their own cost, for the same purpose. He then wrote to the Abbots and Priors to the same effect; ordered the town of Southampton to be fortified; and directed that springalds, quarrels, lances, arbalists, and bows and arrows should be served out from the Tower of London. He also gave instructions that the walls of Winchester should be repaired, and not only forbade the inhabitants of Southampton to leave the town, but commanded those who were absent to return thither. At the end of March he wrote, from Berkhamsted, to relieve the Abbot of St. Albans from certain expenses for the defence of Essex, but, at the same time, ordered him to keep his men armed, and warned the captains of ships sailing to Antwerp and elsewhere to be on their guard against attack.[1]

Edward at Antwerp.

While these measures for the protection of England were being taken, the King was placed in a difficult position at Antwerp. His course was not easy. The Count of Flanders had made some concessions to his subjects, which induced them to remain neutral, in the quarrel between England and France. The result of this was, that, before Edward sailed from England, he had found it necessary to make the treaty with the Flemings, of which an account has already been given, recognising their neutrality. It was not long, however, before Van Artevelde convinced the Flemings of the danger of placing any confidence in their Count, and they consequently rose against him and drove him out of Lower Flanders to St. Omer before the end of the year.[2]

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1070, 1071, 1076–1078.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 74.

A.D. 1338.

His allies hang back.

Edward's other allies hung back, because he had not paid them his promised subsidies. Both the Flemings and the Brabanters were desirous of the friendship of England, for the sake of the wool it produced; but the Flemings were unwilling to break entirely with their Count, and the Brabanters required money as well as trade privileges.

The wool granted by Parliament to Edward does not arrive,

Edward had relied on the sale of the 20,000[1] sacks of wool, the privileged right to buy and sell which had, before his departure, been granted him by Parliament to provide means for paying his allies; but, to his great annoyance, hardly 3,000 sacks had been delivered. On the 27th of July, therefore, the Duke of Cornwall wrote in the King's name stating "the irreparable damage" it would be to him if they were not delivered, ordering all wools in the ports of London, Sandwich, Ipswich, Kingston-on-Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other places to be seized and sent to Great Yarmouth for transmission to him at Antwerp, with all possible speed, and appointing Robert Howel and Robert of Watford as his agents for that purpose.[2] But still the wool did not come; and so, on the 7th of August, the King himself wrote from Antwerp urging its being sent, and setting forth the difficulties in which he was placed by its non-arrival.[3]

and he consequently orders wool to be taken any where.

A few days afterwards, on the 20th of August, the King again wrote to hasten the sending of the wool, but this time he ordered that, if there were any difficulty in obtaining the residue of the 20,000 sacks granted to him, wool should be taken "wherever it could be found, whether within the liberties or without, of all persons whether ecclesiastics or seculars,

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1051.

[2] Ibid. p. 1051.

[3] Ibid. p. 1054.

A.D. 1338. sparing no one."[1] From this time forth there were no more complaints about the wool, and it may therefore be presumed that it arrived at Antwerp and that the King raised money by its sale, but, as will soon be seen, its produce was far from sufficient to supply his wants.

The Duke of Brabant fears to support Edward heartily.

Edward was, however, unable to begin active warfare, for his allies still hung back. The Duke of Brabant feared to support him heartily; he was afraid of offending the King of France, and constantly made excuses to him for his apparent support of Edward.[2] In order therefore to cement his alliance with Brabant, and bring the vacillating Duke entirely over to his side, Edward, regardless of the interests of his own subjects and influenced only by his military objects, granted commercial privileges to Diest, Brussels, Tienen, Mechlin, and Louvain.[3]

But his allies still hesitated to bring their forces into the field. They said they would be ready as soon as the Duke of Brabant, and thus threw the responsibility of delay on him. Edward therefore urged the Duke to fulfil his engagements, but the Duke, still anxious to avoid an open rupture with France, made excuses and said he must have a consultation with the other feudatories of the German Empire. It was rather late to come to such a conclusion, and Edward must have been greatly annoyed at this seeming duplicity. But reproaches would have been useless. Edward therefore consented to

Meeting of his allies at Halle.

the arrangement, and his allies accordingly met at Halle, a village of Hainault on the borders of Brabant, to consider whether they would or would not

[1] Rymer, p. 1057. [2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 65 and 69.
[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1058.

fight for him. Besides the Duke, there were present, A.D. 1338.
the young Count of Hainault, whose father (the father-in-law of King Edward, the Emperor Louis, and the Margrave of Juliers) had died on June 7th, 1337;[1] the young Count's uncle, Sir John of Hainault; the Lord of Beaumont; the Duke of Gueldres; the Margrave of Juliers; and the Lord of Fauquemont. They decided that they could not act without the consent of the Emperor, and advised Edward to ask for it; adding, that he would have no difficulty in obtaining it, because the King of France had encroached on the Emperor's rights by taking forcible possession of Arleux, in Artois, and other places in the Cambresis which belonged to the Empire.[2]

Their decision.

But there was another powerful motive for the Emperor's siding with Edward, and that was the Pope's hostility against him. Ever since the Pontificate of Boniface VIII., the power of the Popes had begun to decline, and they were now mere creatures in the hands of France. After violent quarrels between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII., the residence of the Popes had at length, in 1305, during the Papacy of Clement V., been removed from Rome; first to Lyons and then to Avignon, at the instance, as was supposed, of the King of France, by whose influence Clement had been elected. His successor, John XXII., wishing to confer the Imperial Crown on the King of France, opposed the election of Louis Duke of Bavaria. When, therefore, in direct opposition to his recommendations, Louis was elected, presumed to act as Emperor, took the title of Louis IV. without his consent, and without taking the oath of fealty and obedience which Clement had claimed as necessary to

The Popes mere creatures of France.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 61. [2] Ibid. pp. 64–66.

A.D. 1338. the legal installation of the Emperor, he commanded him to lay down his authority. Louis not only refused to do this, but set up a rival Pope; whereupon John excommunicated him, and placed Germany under an interdict so long as obedience should be yielded to him.[1]

Quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor.

When Benedict XII. became Pope, on December 24th, 1334, the Emperor Louis would gladly have reconciled himself with the Papacy. His Anti-Pope, Peter de Corvara, an austere Franciscan friar, was dead, and had, before his death, been ignominiously deposed, after confessing himself a heretic, and repudiating the acts of the "heretical and schismatic" Emperor, to whom he owed his elevation. Moreover, Louis was getting old, and superstitious terrors filled his breast. He was alarmed at the idea of dying at enmity with the head of the Church. Benedict too, on his side, had no wish to perpetuate the alienation of so important a state, or aggregation of states, as the Empire, and he hoped he might secure its friendship without forfeiting that of France. He therefore made advances to Louis, and Louis sent ambassadors to the Pope. But the Pope had miscalculated his own strength and the jealous tyranny of his French master. Philip threw every obstacle in the way of reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor; the Pope was obliged to yield, and the Emperor threw himself into the arms of England.

This did not come about, however, until Louis had tried every means of obtaining restoration to the bosom of what he was now, in the approach of

[1] Hallam's *Middle Ages*, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 31 and 32, and Milman's *Latin Christianity* (edit. 1864), vol. vii. pp. 386, 396, 413, 416, 417, 419.

old age, willing to consider as the only true Church. So humiliated was he, that he even condescended to propose an alliance with France, but the conditions proposed by Philip were too hard for the repentant sinner to accept. The latter demanded that the Emperor should agree to enter into no treaty with any enemy of France. England was the only enemy to whom this condition could apply. The Pope was anxious that the alliance should be formed; it would have put the Emperor at his feet, and the condition imposed by Philip suited both him and the King of France, as the humiliation of England would have been equally gratifying to each of them. The Pope, therefore, wrote to Edward to dissuade him from alliance with Louis. He endeavoured to excite his superstitious fears, and warned him against allying himself with an excommunicated rebel. This was in the middle of 1337. Edward utterly disregarded the Pope's letter, and immediately opened negotiations for an alliance with the Emperor. Soon afterwards he wrote to the Pope, justifying his war with France and his friendship with the Emperor, but at the same time consenting to receive ambassadors from him,[1] to treat for peace between himself and Philip "calling himself King of France." Nothing came of the conferences, and at the end of the following year (1338), finding that his ambassadors had failed in their negotiations, and that his letters abusing the Emperor produced no effect, the Pope again wrote to Edward, after his return from Coblentz, expressing his dread of his forming an alliance with the Germans,[2] de-

A.D. 1338. The Emperor's indecision.

[1] October 17, 1337. Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1004.

[2] Milman, vol. vii. p. 442 (note *n*), and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1063 (November, 1338).

A.D. 1338. claring the Empire vacant, and his full right so to declare it.

Germany resists the Pope's claims.

At length, the Emperor was roused to a more dignified sense of his position. The alliance with England was ripening; it had been steadily advancing since the middle of 1337.[1] Edward, before he left England,[2] had sent ambassadors to the Emperor to make arrangements with him, and, at last, Louis wrote to the Pope, demanding absolution for his past errors, and threatening to extort it by force of arms if it were refused. The indignation of Germany against the Pope was now fully roused. Diet after Diet—such was the term applied to the meetings of the Electors of the Empire—met, each more determined than the other to maintain its independent right to elect the Emperor without the Pope's interference. The States-General at Frankfort—all the Electors being present except the King of Bohemia, whose absence was caused by his friendship for Philip's son[3]—declared that the Imperial dignity and power came from God alone, and that an Emperor, elected by the competent electors, needed no approbation of the Pope. The Pope replied, by causing his ban of excommunication to be nailed on the gate of the great church at Frankfort.[4]

The quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope seemed now to be decisive, and the Emperor became more willing to enter into an alliance with England. At length, in compliance with the suggestions of his allies, Edward sent his brother-in-law, the Margrave of Juliers, to make arrangements for a conference

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 991, 999.
[2] Ibid. p. 1046.
[3] *Chronique rimée*, p. 9.
[4] Milman, *Latin Christianity*, vol. vii. p. 445.

between himself and Louis, and about the end of August, or the beginning of September, Edward and the Emperor met at a Diet at Coblentz.[1] A.D. 1338. Edward's journey to Coblentz,

His journey thither was, from beginning to end, a magnificent progress; his daily progress from Antwerp may be traced in the most minute and interesting manner, by means of a wardrobe account book of his expenses, which is still in existence. He was accompanied, as far as Herenthals, by his Queen, for whom, in order to insure a proper splendour of appearance during his residence at Antwerp, he had ordered "horses, saddles, silver vessels, zones, silk purses, and other jewels and things" to the value of 564*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in money of that day.[2] He also took with him his little daughter Joan, a child of five years old. It would occupy too much space here to relate the details of the grandeur of his progress, of his lavish liberality at Cologne, of the fiddlers and minstrels gathered together to entertain him, and of the solemn pomp with which he was received at Coblentz.[3] It is sufficient here to say, that the grandeur was equalled, only by the extravagance of the expenditure. accompanied by his Queen.

On his arrival, two thrones were erected in the market-place; one for the Emperor Louis, the other for Edward of England. They sat in imperial and royal pomp, surrounded by above 17,000 gentlemen, barons, and armed knights. The Emperor held the sceptre in his right hand, the globe in his left, and a German knight held a drawn sword over his head. The proceedings began by a protest against the Interview between Edward and the Emperor.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 66 (note).

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1059.

[3] A most interesting account of the journey, compiled from the Wardrobe Book, is given in Pauli's *Pictures of Old England*, chap. v.

A.D. 1338. usurpations of the Pope. After this, Edward arose, and addressing the Emperor as defender of justice in all Christendom, accused Philip, of unjustly keeping possession of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, which Philip had taken from his ancestors; and, of usurping the crown of France, which Edward claimed as his heritage from his mother. The Emperor then spoke. He charged Philip, with refusing him the homage and feudal rights due to him, for the fiefs of the Empire held by Philip; pronounced him deprived of all protection from the Empire, until he had restored to Edward his mother's heritage; and, lastly, appointed Edward his Vicar-General in all parts of the Empire situated on the left bank of the Rhine, and beyond Cologne, giving orders to all the princes of the Low Countries to follow him in war for the space of seven years.[1]

The Emperor makes Edward his Vicar-General, and orders the Princes of the Empire to join him with their forces.

When this solemn interview with the Emperor was over, Edward went to Arques, and afterwards to Mechlin; at both places, as Lieutenant of the Empire, he received homage from all the nobles whom he had summoned to meet him.[2] The same ceremony was repeated at Herz in the county of Looz, where he dispensed justice, and performed other duties appertaining to the Emperor. Edward then summoned the Princes to meet him with their forces, in the middle of July of the following year, under the flag of the Empire; putting forward as the object of the war, the recovery of Cambrai, a dependency of the Empire, of which the French had unjustly kept possession.[3] It was only by such a pretext

Plan of the war is settled.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. pp. 137–8.

[2] Delepierre's translation of De Klerk's *Chronique rimée*, p. 9.

[3] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 139, and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 69.

that Edward could avail himself of the aid of the Emperor's feudatories. A.D. 1338.

Edward returned to Antwerp, about the 20th of September, and, on the 29th of November, Queen Philippa was delivered of a son, called Lionel after the lion which formed the arms of Brabant, and afterwards created Duke of Clarence. Birth of Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence.

Edward now endeavoured to turn his compulsory winter inactivity to good account, by cementing a firmer friendship with the Flemings; on the 12th of November, he appointed Count Reynald, of Gueldres and Zutphen, to treat with Count Louis, and with the burgomasters and citizens of the various towns of Flanders, relative to an alliance with them. He even went so far, as to give the Count power to treat with Louis, for the marriage of his daughter Isabella with the Count Louis's eldest son.[1] There seems some inconsistency in Edward's assiduity in cultivating the friendship of the Count of Flanders, while he was acting under the advice of Van Artevelde; but, although[2] Van Artevelde was regent of Flanders, Louis still remained its count, or sovereign, and Edward therefore probably thought it advisable to be on good terms with both. Edward negotiates with the Flemings and with their Count.

All this while, neither did the King of France cease in his efforts, to cripple England; nor did the Pope desist from his endeavours, to break off the alliance between Edward and the Emperor. Philip despatched three large fleets to sea, with orders to do all the injury possible to the English, without the least mercy. They were manned by Genoese, Normans, Bretons, Picards, and Spaniards, and were commanded by Hugh Quieret, Peter Bahucet, and one Barbecaire, Efforts of the King of France to injure England.

[1] Rymer vol. ii. p. 1063. [2] Voisin, p. 54.

A.D. 1338. under whom the Genoese were placed.[1] Southampton was pillaged and burnt by a body of Normans and Genoese, who landed on a Sunday while the inhabitants were at mass.[2] The Genoese were always ready to hire themselves out on any side, and had evidently no objection to fight against the English, although one of their countrymen was an English admiral, and other Genoese were actually in the pay of the English. From the time of the Crusades, however, the Genoese had been more especially allies of the French, and the Pisans of England. A fleet of French and hired Genoese, containing 40,000 soldiers, did great damage to the Cinque Ports[3] and other seaports, and so harassed the English that no vessel could leave the coast without being plundered.[4] The English navy was consequently obliged to be always on the alert, to prevent English commerce from being entirely stopped, the English seaports destroyed, and the ships laden with the King's wool intercepted.[5]

Southampton pillaged and burned.

The Genoese and their mercenary fleets.

Anxiety of the Normans to invade and conquer England.

The Normans at this time were especially anxious to invade and conquer England. They remembered, doubtless, how a Norman Duke, three centuries before, had landed on its shores and conquered the country, and were ambitious of repeating the exploit. They consequently made a formal agreement with the King of

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 70.

[2] Knighton, cols. 2572–3; Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 72; and Rymer (March 16, 1339), p. 1077, relative to the fortification of Southampton, which had been "lately burnt." Knighton places this invasion under the year 1338, but it is uncertain whether this took place in the autumn of 1338 or early in 1339. See Nicolas' *Brit. Navy*, vol. ii. p. 34 (note).

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1067 (December 8, 1368), relative to the burning of Portsmouth, Fodyngton, Portsea, and Estene near Portsmouth.

[4] Nicolas' *Brit. Navy*, vol. i. p. 36. [5] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1060.

France to do so at their own cost, and entered into elaborate arrangements as to the division of the plunder after they had reduced England to subjection. This bold plan, which began and ended in the wishes of the Normans, was not known to Edward until after the taking of Caen, when it excited his vehement indignation.[1] A.D. 1338.

The Pope remonstrates with Edward.

After Edward's return from Coblentz, the Pope, as already related, wrote to him, to express his detestation of his alliance with the Emperor. He accused the Emperor of favouring "detestable heresies and horrible horrors;" of usurping the title of Emperor with "detestable temerity;" and charged him with various other evil deeds, in language such as was rarely used except by the Holy Fathers in their Bulls. In conclusion, he begged Edward to have nothing to do with Louis, who was neither King nor Emperor, representing, that nothing that Louis had done, could do, or should do, was of the slightest validity; and that, although it was but human to err, if Edward was seduced by his serpent-like deceptions, and persisted in such evil courses, something dreadful would happen to himself.[2]

Whether or not it was out of alarm at this lengthy, and mysteriously terrible, letter, it is difficult to determine; but, about a week after it was written, Edward appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, Sir Walter de Scrope, and Archdeacon John de Offord, his ambassadors, to treat for peace with France.[3] It is evident, that he did so most unwillingly, for he did not style Philip

Edward treats for peace with France;

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 72 (note).

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1063. [3] Ibid. p. 1065.

A.D. 1338. "King of France," but only "our cousin," and, on the following day, he expressly forbade his ambassadors to treat with Philip as if he were King of France.[1] But shortly afterwards, seemingly at the request of the Pope, he consented to call him King of France.[2]

but nothing comes of the negotiations.

Nothing came of the negotiations, for it was clear that neither king was disposed to yield, and indeed three months afterwards, the Duke of Cornwall in Edward's name made fresh demands on the clergy of the diocese of York, for a supply to enable him to carry on the war and "recover the rights of his crown;" reminding the Archbishop, that, when the clergy of the dioceses of Canterbury granted him a subsidy, those of his province, to the King's great astonishment, had refused to do so.[3] At the same time the Duke ordered above 12,000 men to be arrayed for the defence of the kingdom, of whom about 1,500 were men-at-arms, 5,000 "other armed men," and 5,000 bowmen. In issuing this order it was especially directed that the rich men, and men of property, who could afford to serve at their own charges, should be chosen, and that the poor and "small men" should be spared.[4] The number of "other armed men" called out exactly equalled the number of bowmen; and it is remarkable that Rutland and Middlesex supplied the smallest, and Lincolnshire the greatest number, London being probably excluded. The Duke wrote also to the Archbishops and all the Bishops, telling them that he had received information that the French intended to invade England about the middle of March, calling on them to summon the whole of the clergy and direct them to arm

Measures of the Prince at home for carrying on the war.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1066.
[2] Ibid. p. 1068.
[3] Ibid. p. 1069.
[4] Ibid. p. 1070.

their servants, and to furnish men for the defence of the country, who were to be ready at the same time as those furnished by the laity.[1] At the same time Edward made a treaty, dated at Antwerp, on February 16th, 1339, with the Dukes of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, for the hire of 200 armed men, to be used in the war waging between himself and Philip "calling himself King of France."[2] A.D. 1339. Edward concludes a treaty with the Dukes of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia.

Edward's expenses became very heavy. He had brought with him from England 1,600 men at arms and 10,000 archers, whose daily cost was great;[3] he was bound to pay large sums to his allies; and he and his court were living in great magnificence. He was therefore compelled to pledge his great crown, his little crown, and the Queen's crown, to the Archbishop of Treves, for the repayment of 61,000 gold florins of Florence money, which he had borrowed of him;[4] and he soon afterwards borrowed 54,000 florins of three citizens of Mechlin.[5] The time appointed for the assembling of the united forces had now arrived, but the troops did not come. In order to attach the wavering Duke of Brabant more firmly to his cause, Edward had endeavoured, during the previous month, to bring about a marriage between his son the Duke of Cornwall and the Duke's daughter Margaret, but the marriage never took place,[6] and all Edward's preparations and profuse expenditure seemed to be thrown away. Edward much pressed for money. He pledges his crowns.

Philip had made as good use as Edward of the period of compulsory inactivity, and his efforts to detach the Emperor from his alliance with Edward

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1072.
[2] Ibid. p. 1073.
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 70.
[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1073.
[5] Ibid. p. 1085.
[6] Ibid. p. 1083.

A.D. 1339. had succeeded for a time. He sent John King of Bohemia for the purpose. John was eminently fitted for the task; he was skilled in arms, chivalrous in disposition, and persuasive in manners. He represented to the Emperor, that his dignity was compromised by entering into the pay of the King of England; his efforts were seconded by letters from the Pope, Benedict XII., who, although well disposed towards the Emperor, and even anxious for his success, as a means of restoring independence to the Church, had been induced by Philip to threaten him with renewed excommunication if he persisted in his designs of invading France.[1] The Emperor was a man of great devotion, and, seized with remorse at having so long resisted the Holy See, he yielded. He wrote to Edward that, notwithstanding his promises, he would not join him, and sent back the subsidies he had already received from him.[2] The Duke of Brabant, also, still wavered, and Philip now thought he had broken up Edward's foreign alliances. He therefore endeavoured to prevent his receiving reinforcements from England, and occupied the Channel with a fleet collected from

Philip persuades the Emperor to break with Edward.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 144.

[2] Ibid. p. 145. A somewhat different account of the rupture of the treaty between Edward and the Emperor is given in Delepierre's translation of *Chronique rimée de Klerk.* It is there stated (p. 11) that the cause of the rupture was the non-arrival of the subsidy, and Jean de Klerk adds that he himself heard Edward say, "It is for my great advantage that God has willed that my project should be carried out in a different way. If the Emperor had been mixed up in this war and success had crowned our efforts, fame would have given the honours of victory to him, and not to him to whom they were justly due. Besides he is under the ban of the Holy Church, so that, because of him, the matter would have been more difficult to manage."

Spain, Italy, Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy, and his forces even landed on the English coast, ravaging Southampton.[1] A.D. 1339.

Edward still treats for peace, but unwillingly.

But while all these plottings were going on, Edward, to please the Pope, still continued to negotiate for peace,[2] though, at the same time, he elaborately set forth before him the grounds on which he justified his war against Philip. He insisted on his right to the crown, relying especially on the theory, that although a female could not succeed to the throne, her male descendants could do so in preference to younger male branches of the family, and justified his friendship with the Emperor.[3] The Pope wrote a letter of expostulation to Edward in October,[4] begging him to consider seriously the consequences of his alliance with the Emperor; he wrote again in November, stating how shocked he was to hear that Edward had accepted the vicariate of the Empire from the Emperor.[5] These letters were nothing but ill-argued assertions that Louis was a heretic and no Emperor, and that Edward had better have nothing to do with him. But they were too late. The war had already begun.

Edward waits for his allies.

In the middle of July, the time appointed by Edward, as Vicar of the Empire, for the meeting of his allies, he went to Vilvoorden, a town on the Senne between Malines and Brussels, expecting their arrival. He selected this place as being convenient for a march on Cambrai, the siege of which was intended to be the beginning of the campaign. Week after week he awaited their arrival, but no allies ap-

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 72.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1085.
[3] Walsingham, p. 201.
[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1093.
[5] Ibid. p. 1096.

A.D. 1339. peared, for they were waiting for the shifty Duke of Brabant. Edward, therefore, formally summoned them all to come to him at Mechlin, and the summons was quickly obeyed by John of Hainault, the Duke of Gueldres, the Margrave of Juliers, Robert of Artois, the Margrave of Misnia or Meissen, the Margrave of Brandenburg, son of the Emperor Louis, the Lord of Fauquemont, and even by the Duke of Brabant himself. The Emperor had repented of allowing himself to be cajoled by the King of Bohemia, and had permitted his son to join Edward with 100 lances.[1]

Edward summons his allies.

Defiance of the King of France.

The first step, according to feudal customs, was to defy the King of France. The Bishop of Lincoln was accordingly sent to Paris, with a challenge, signed and sealed by all except the Duke of Brabant, who, however, promised "to do his part in proper time and place." The Duke then returned to Brussels.[2]

There was still delay, however, and Edward was obliged to go to Brussels to see the Duke of Brabant once more, and bring him to a definite course of action. He at length persuaded the Duke to promise to join him with 1,200 lances as soon as he knew that Cambrai was besieged.

Edward passed through Mons, in Hainault, and on his arrival at Valenciennes found the young Count William of Hainault with his uncle John. The form of summoning Cambrai to surrender to Edward, as Vicar of the Emperor, was then gone through, after which the Earl of Hainault was admonished to assist Edward in the siege. Cambrai was besieged, and the Duke of Brabant at last joined the English army with his promised soldiers. The young Count of Namur also

Siege of Cambrai.

[1] Sismondi, p. 148. [2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 71.

came to serve under the Count of Hainault; they had both however agreed, that they would fight on Edward's side, only so long as he remained within the boundaries of the Empire, and that, if he crossed into France, they would leave him and join King Philip.[1] Their support of Edward, so long as he led the army as the Emperor's Vicar, was no cause for enmity with France; but if he crossed the frontier, he then acted only as King of England, and their fighting under his banner under such circumstances would make them enemies of France. But little passion or rancour entered into the wars of those days. Men fought on terms of high courtesy towards those of their own rank; mingled, however, with not a little of heartless selfishness, and a total disregard of the sufferings of the humbler classes. They looked on war as a noble pastime, rather than a struggle animated by virulent hatred. It is true that they did as much harm as possible to their enemies by destroying the towns and villages of their unoffending subjects, who were not unfrequently put to the sword, but the actual fighting was carried on as between themselves personally with ceremonious politeness.

A.D. 1339

Courtesy in warfare at this period.

Continual skirmishing went on, and isolated, but resultless, feats of valour were performed on either side: one John of Chandos, whose subsequent gallantry and noble friendship with Edward and his son were of an almost romantic character, was one of those who thus distinguished themselves. Sir Walter de Maunay, too, was unceasing in his bold attacks.

John of Chandos.

Notwithstanding the efforts, however, of the mighty hosts, in number about 40,000, gathered round Cambrai, the city resisted their efforts. After a

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 76.

A D. 1339. conference, therefore, in which Robert of Artois, in whom the King had great confidence, took a prominent part, it was agreed to abandon the siege and invade France. The Counts of Hainault and Namur went with the English army as far as the river Scheldt, which was the boundary of the Empire; but when Edward crossed it and thus made war on their feudal suzerain, they refused to go with him, and politely took their leave. Sir John of Hainault, however, remained with Edward, Philip having apparently no feudal superiority over him. The King marched first to Mont St. Martin, where he arrived about October 13, then entered the Vermandois, and so proceeded on to Tierasche and the Flamangrie, pillaging and devastating the country wherever he went. Philip, on hearing that Edward had crossed the frontier and entered France, advanced from Compiegne to St. Quentin, accompanied by John King of Bohemia, the King of Navarre, and the King of Scotland. He then marched to Vironfosse, and seemed desirous to come to blows; Edward, therefore, resolved to wait for him, and the course he adopted to bring on a battle was singularly characteristic of chivalrous usages.[1]

Siege of Cambrai given up and France invaded.

Edward offers battle, and Philip fixes the day.

A herald was sent to Philip to demand a battle between the two armies, to which Philip agreed, appointing the following Friday as the day. When Friday morning arrived "the two armies got themselves in readiness, and heard mass, each among his own people, and at his own quarters, and many took the sacrament and confessed themselves."[2] But, notwithstanding all these preparations, no battle took place. It is said, that an astrologer advised the King

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 77 and 80. [2] Ibid. p. 82.

of France, never to fight with the King of England in person. Philip, being a believer in astrology, may have been influenced by this advice; but it is more likely that he felt he would do more harm to Edward, and bring greater discredit on his enterprise, if he could render his invasion of France fruitless without fighting, than even by defeating him in the open field. It is not easy, however, to explain the conduct of either king. Edward retired to Brussels, and the King of France returned to Paris.[1] A.D. 1339. Campaign ends without fighting.

Edward was, all the while, greatly pressed for money, and on the 26th of September had written from Markoyn in France, to empower the Duke of Cornwall, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to receive fines, to grant pardons, to sell permissions to marry the wards of the Crown, and to raise money by any other means which the feudal system provided.[2] On his return from France, on the 1st of November, he wrote the following account of his invasion, from Brussels, to his son the Duke of Cornwall. It differs slightly from Froissart's narrative, and curiously illustrates the mode of warfare of those times.

"We have often informed you of the cause of our long stay in Brabant, but still no aid comes to us from our kingdom, and the stay is grievous to us, and our allies are heavy in their wants, and our messengers for peace, who have staid so long with the cardinals and council of France, will bring us no offer except that we shall not have a palm's breadth of land in the kingdom of France, and our cousin Philip of Valois swore every day that we should The King's own account of the campaign.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 84.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1091.

A.D. 1339. not stay a day in France without his giving us battle. We, trusting in God and our right, made our allies come before us, and showed them certainly that we could not wait any longer, but would pursue our rights: they, seeing the dishonour that would fall on them if they staid behind us, agreed to follow us, and to march into France on a certain day, at which day and place we were ready and our allies came after us as soon as they could. The Monday after the feast of St. Matthew we went out of Valenciennes, and the same day we began to burn in Cambrai, and during all the week much corn and beasts were destroyed. The Saturday following we came to Markeynge, which is between Cambrai and France, and we began to burn in France the same day, and we heard that Philip was coming towards us at Peronne, on his way to Noyon. On the Saturday before the feast of St. Luke, we passed the water of Oise, and staid there Sunday, when our allies told us that their victuals were nearly expended, and that winter was coming on, and that it would not suit them to stay, but that they must march back. On Monday morning there came a messenger from the King of France, saying that he would place himself where he was not protected by wood, marsh, or water, and that he would give battle to the King of England on the next Thursday. On Wednesday came letters from the King of Bohemia and Duke of Lorraine, with their seals hanging, saying that, as to what the King of France had said, he would keep his covenant. The next day we went towards Flamangrie and staid there all Friday. In the evening three spies were taken, who said that Philip was a

Edward's own account of the campaign.

league and a half from us, and would fight on Saturday. On Saturday we were ready before day-break, and took some of his spies, who told us that his avant garde was on the field. At the same time we took prisoner a gentleman of Germany who told us they had cut down great trees to prevent our approach. We remained on foot all day, and in the evening our allies said we had staid long enough, and we got on our horses and went to Daveneis, a league and a half from our cousin, and told him we would wait there all Sunday. We found that he had been in such haste to take up a stronger position, that 1,000 of his horsemen had sunk in a marsh. On Monday we heard that the French had retreated, and our allies would stay no longer, about which we are to have a council with them the day after the feast of St. Martin at Antwerp."[1] A.D. 1339.

Edward makes an important treaty with Brabant.

On Edward's return from his campaign in France, he made an important treaty with the Duke of Brabant, dated at Brussels on the 3rd of November, A.D. 1339, in which the cities of Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and seven others were comprised. It provided that the King and the Duke should render each other mutual assistance, each at his own cost, during the war, that war should neither be begun nor ended but by mutual consent, that commerce should be encouraged between Flanders and Brabant, and nothing should be changed in the commercial arrangements between the two countries without the consent, not only of Edward and the Duke, but also of the towns comprised in the treaty.[2] This

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1094, and Avesbury (Oxon, 1720), p. 46.

[2] Voisin, p. 29. On December 3rd, Sismondi, vol. x. p. 156, quoting Meyer.

A.D. 1339. was brought about by the advice of Van Artevelde; and at his suggestion Edward, who had, for some time, occasionally taken the title of King of France,

And quarters his arms with those of France.

now not only did so in a more formal manner, but quartered his arms with those of France, in order to remove the scruples of the Flemings as to becoming his allies, and he now for the first time placed the motto "Dieu et mon Droit" on his seal.[1] Van Artevelde having thus brought Flanders and Brabant

Treaty between Flanders and Brabant.

into closer commercial union, a treaty between them was entered into at Ghent. This was shortly afterwards, on January 4th, A.D. 1340, followed by a treaty between the Flemings and the English, in virtue of which they recognised Edward as King of France, declared war against France,[2] and agreed that the campaign should begin with the siege of Tournai.

Edward's fresh treaty with the Flemings, and with their Count.

It is remarkable that on the very same day that Edward appointed the Earl of Salisbury and others to make this treaty with the Flemings, such was his anxiety to be on good terms with Count Louis, that he again gave his ambassadors power to treat with him for the marriage of his daughter Isabella with the Count's son.[3] This negotiation, however, again failed.

The Pope excommunicates Flanders.

Philip, seeing that Van Artevelde counteracted all his projects for bringing the Flemings back under the dominion of their Count, managed to persuade the Pope to excommunicate the whole of Flanders.[4] By doing this he strengthened the friendship between it and England.

[1] Knighton, col. 2576, and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 85.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 85, 86; Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1106; and Voisin, p. 38.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1106.

[4] Voisin, p. 38.

A.D. 1340.

It being now the middle of winter, and therefore, according to the custom of the times, impracticable to carry on war until the following spring, King Edward wished to return to England; but his allies would not allow him to do so, until he had made satisfactory arrangements for the payment of his debts. These were enormous, and amounted to about 30,000*l.*,[1] or nearly half a million of money, if converted into the corresponding value of the present day. He was consequently obliged solemnly to promise to return within a certain time, and leave the Earls of Derby, Salisbury, Northampton, and Suffolk as hostages for the performance of his promise.[2] At the same time, although he did not leave Flanders until more than two months afterwards, he gave full powers to the Duke of Brabant to carry on the war in his absence, subject, however, to the condition that the troops should not be disposed of without Van Artevelde's advice.[3] About the same time the Government at home, in the King's name, ordered the masters and sailors of certain ships belonging to Bayonne, which were at Sandwich and other English ports, to hold themselves in readiness for the invasion of France in the following year, according to an agreement which had been made with them. The Guardian also directed certain provisions to be sent to the King, probably for the use of the Court at Antwerp during his absence in England. The supplies thus ordered were 5 lasts of red herrings from Yarmouth, 50 of codfish from Blackheath, and 5000 stock-fish from Boston.[4]

Edward has to obtain leave from his creditors to return to England.

Preparations for the invasion of France in the following year.

[1] See Paulis' *Pictures of Old England*, p. 170.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1100.

[3] Voisin, p. 19.

[4] December 9th and 23rd, Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1101 and 1103.

A.D. 1340.

Constant negotiations for peace.

Notwithstanding these arrangements for the continuance of the war, Edward constantly negotiated with Philip for peace. He did so at the earnest solicitation of the Pope, who wrote to him continually, to persuade him to break off his friendship with the Emperor and make peace with France. His Holiness insinuated, that Edward's friends were sure to leave him in the lurch, and that "with subtle and ingenuity and exquisite fraud" they would shift their burthens off their own backs on to his;[1] and soon afterwards, finding apparently that his cardinals were unsuccessful in their negotiations, the Pope said that, if they could not arrange a peace, he would himself go to England to negotiate personally with Edward.[2] At last, Edward seems to have become weary of the Pope's interference and of the fruitless negotiations; and, at the end of January 1340, he wrote, as King of France and England, to the Pope, telling him that, at his persuasion he had tried to make peace with France, but that his efforts were all in vain.[3] He then, repeating his title of King of France and England, notified to his subjects in France the cause of the war, recapitulated his rights to the throne of France, and ordered a document to the same effect to be affixed to the doors of all the churches and other places in Flanders bordering on France.[4] On the same day he made known to the peers and commons of France and Flanders that all who submitted to him and recognised him as their king, before a certain day, should be "received into his peace and taken under his protection."[5]

Edward finally breaks off the negotiations.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1096. [2] Ibid. p. 1103.
[3] Ibid. p. 1107. [4] Ibid. p. 1109 (February 8th, 1340).
[5] Ibid. p. 1111.

After this, he embarked for England, leaving the four Earls as hostages for his return, and empowering Van Artevelde and Reynald Count of Gueldres to go through Flanders and receive the oaths of the people to him.[1] Edward arrived at Orewell on February 21st,[2] 1340. A.D.1340. Edward's return to England.

[1] Voisin, p. 30. [2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1115.

CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD'S NECESSITIES FOR MONEY, HIS RETURN TO FLANDERS, THE FIRST BATTLE, THE FRUITLESS END OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND EDWARD'S SECOND RETURN TO ENGLAND.

A.D. 1340. DURING the King's absence in Flanders, a Parliament had been assembled, on October 13th, A.D. 1339, to take into consideration three subjects. The first was, the way in which the internal peace of the kingdom could be best kept; the second, the guarding of the northern borders against the Scots; and the last and most important, how the sea should be cleared of enemies, so that they should do no damage, nor "enter the kingdom to destroy it." Archbishop Stratford, who had just returned from the King, opened the proceedings by giving a short account of the course of events in Flanders. He then went on to say that the King had contracted obligations to the enormous amount of 300,000*l.*, and that for this reason, and to enable him to carry on the war, he required a large aid. It is worthy of remark, that the Commons were now, for the first time, specially mentioned with the "Great Men," as those to whom this address was delivered. They had evidently already begun to increase in importance, and it was the King's necessities that produced this result.[1]

Parliamentary proceedings in the King's absence.

[1] See *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 308.

Parliament proceeded to consider how the aid could be granted with the least injury to the people, taking into account the dearth of money; for the country had been greatly impoverished by the war, and actual coin was very scarce. Some of the members of the King's Council proposed, that the tenth sheaf, lamb, and fleece, should be granted for two years. A long debate ensued; the redress of certain grievances was insisted on; and at last the Peers, "Les Grauntz," granted the tenth sheaf of corn of all sorts of their demesne lands[1] except the lands of their bondsmen, the tenth fleece, and the tenth lamb of the next year, to be paid in two years; but they stipulated, that the maletolt of wool which had lately been illegally levied, should be done away with, and the old custom abided by; that a charter should be granted to them, providing that the maletolt should never be levied again; that the grant thus made should not be considered a custom; and, lastly, they desired that the wardship of lands, which then went into the King's hand by the nonage of heirs, should pass to the nearest of kin instead.

[A. D. 1340.]

England impoverished by the war.

These were considerable, but most reasonable conditions; the Commons, however, acting for themselves as a separate and distinct body, declared they could not grant an aid "without consulting the commons of their counties." This seems to be the first occasion on which members of Parliament openly declared themselves the repre-

The Commons first openly declare themselves

[1] "This grant being confined to their *demesnes*, they did not attempt to charge their *tenants in capite* by subinfeudation. The Commons declined granting such an aid without consulting those whom they represented, including possibly the tenants of the Lords by sub-infeudation."—*Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 309.

A.D. 1340. sentatives of their electors. They accordingly demanded that another Parliament should be summoned, to meet at a convenient time, promising that, in the meantime, they would return to their counties, and do their utmost to obtain for the King a proper aid. They prayed, also, that writs should be sent to every sheriff, ordering that two of the most esteemed knights in counties should be elected *for the Commons*, but that none of them should be sheriffs or other officers.[1] The sheriffs had so much oppressed the people, that the King, shortly before, had provided for their annual election by the freeholders of each county; it was doubtless on account of their oppressions, that the Commons wished to exclude them from Parliament.[2] The Commons also required that none but knights, "*ceynt des espes*," that is, military tenants of the Crown actually knighted, should be returned for counties.[3] Other important matters were also brought under the consideration of the Commons in this Parliament, such as the state of the country, which was evidently lawless and dangerous. Bodies of men throughout the kingdom had banded themselves together looking out for bad news from the seat of war, intending, if any such arrived, to rise and plunder the country. The Commons, however, declared that the law, if properly put in force, was sufficient for the protection of the country. The capture of merchant vessels by the French was another matter which was brought before the Commons, and it is amusing to find them complaining that the owners of ships, "for the sake

the representatives of the electors.

Dangerous state of the country.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. pp. 103 and 104.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1090 (Sept. 22, 1339).
[3] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 106 (22).

of merchandise and greediness of gain," had sent their ships to sea, and thus exposed them to capture. The only redress they proposed was, that for the present the ships should be kept at home.[1] The French ships had taken the Isle of Jersey, and done other great damage by sea and land, because, as it was stated, there was actually no English fleet at sea, and the advice of the Commons as to the prevention of this mischief was asked for. They declared that these were matters of which they had no knowledge, and begged to be excused from advising on them; that it was the business of the guardians of the Cinque Ports, "who had honours above all the commoners of the land," and paid no taxes because the duty of guarding the land devolved upon them; and, that they ought to perform that duty, without asking for any higher wages for so doing.[2]

A.D. 1340.

Jersey taken by the French.

Rights and duties of the Cinque Ports.

Parliament met again at the end of January 1340, and the Commons promised to state their intentions on the 19th of the following month; when that time arrived, they said they were ready to grant an aid. It is very doubtful whether the war was popular, and indeed there was nothing to make it so; no victory had been gained, and Edward seemingly had to deal with greedy and selfish allies. But the country felt the necessity of supporting the honour of the King, and the Commons promised an aid. They said they would grant the King 30,000 sacks of wool; but it was on certain conditions, without the fulfilment of which they declared their grant must be considered null and void; and they said that, as these matters so nearly touched the King himself, it was desirable that he and his secret council should be consulted

Parliament grants the King an aid for the war.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 105 (15). [2] Ibid. p. 105 (11).

A.D. 1340. about them.[1] This was agreed to, but, inasmuch as there was an immediate necessity for the equipment of a fleet, the Commons were asked how they would meet this difficulty. They answered that they would grant 2,050 sacks of wool on account, and would consider their grant a gift if their conditions were not complied with. The mariners of the Cinque Ports had been summoned to attend the Parliament; before it broke up, they promised to furnish thirty ships, called niefs, half at their own cost, and half at that of the Government; the mariners of the west agreed to provide seventy similar vessels, on much the same conditions.[2] A greater vigour was also infused into all preparations for the defence of the country, the necessity for which was a striking evidence of the aggressive activity of the French, even during the invasion of their country by the English. Masterly inaction at home, and an equally well devised activity abroad, were the tactics with which they met the attacks of Edward.

Subsidy granted on conditions.

Necessity of Edward's return to England.

During the sitting of this Parliament, Edward was preparing to return for a short time to his own dominions. His presence was needed, to stimulate the nation to unprecedented sacrifices for carrying on the war. It was not unpopular with the nobles, to whom it was a pastime, but there was widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country, for the people felt its burthen, and hitherto there had been no compensating glory. But unless greater sums could be raised, the King of England would be dishonoured, and the country itself exposed to imminent danger. Edward therefore having, as previously related, obtained leave from his creditors to visit England, made

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 107 (7). [2] Ibid. p. 108.

preparations for his voyage; but before setting sail he issued a proclamation to the people of France, again asserting his claim to the throne, basing it on the fact that his mother was sister to the late King, while Philip was only his cousin, declaring that he would govern the people according to their ancient laws, and promising to receive into his protection all who would take the oath of allegiance to him.[1] Shortly after this he embarked for England, and landed at Orewell, on the 21st February, as before related.[2] A.D. 1340.

Immediately on his arrival he wrote from Harwich to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating that he should be present at a Parliament about to assemble at the end of March, and directing that measures should be taken to ensure a full attendance. But the most important part of his letter related to his assumption of the title of King of France. He told the Archbishop that his subjects need not be astonished that he had done so, for there were many causes for it which he would explain to the Parliament, and he went on to say, that thereby there should be no damage to the kingdom of England.[3] The King returns, and explains his calling himself King of France.

To this Parliament, according to frequent custom, a large number of merchants and others were ordered to come for a "colloquy." There are no documents to show how these colloquies were conducted, but of course those thus summoned did not take part in the debates. Probably they met together for discussion, and communicated the result to Parliament itself.

Parliament met on the 29th March, and the prelates, earls and barons for themselves and for all their tenants, and the knights of the counties, for them- Proceedings of Parliament.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1111 (Feb. 8th, 1340).
[2] Ibid. p. 1115. [3] Ibid.

A.D. 1340. selves and for the Commons of the land,[1] granted the King "the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf, to be taken by two years then next to come.[2] The citizens and burgesses granted the true ninth part of all their goods and chattels, to be taken and levied by lawful and reasonable tax by the same two years; the foreign merchants who did not dwell in cities nor boroughs, and other people that dwelt in forests and wastes, and all others that lived not of their tillage or store of sheep were be set lawfully at the value to the fifteen." With that regard for the poor which certainly, in many points, distinguished this age, it was expressly stated that it was not the intention of the King, nor of the other great men, nor of the Commons, that "the poor and those who lived of their labour," should be liable to the payment of this grant of a fifteenth. The Commons also protested, that the grants were made on condition of the petitions for the redress of grievances being granted. There was also granted by "the prelates earls barons and Commons of the realm forty shillings to be taken of every sack of wool, and forty shillings of every three hundred woolfells, and forty shillings

Supplies granted for two years.

Labourers exempted from the taxation.

[1] "Les communes de la terre." Rot. Parl. 14 Ed. 3. (m. 3) 6.

[2] "This grant may have been in lieu of the tenth sheaf, &c., which the earls and barons had agreed to grant in the last Parliament, and probably that was considered an agreement to grant rather than an absolute grant. It may also be observed that the prelates, earls and barons made the grant for themselves and all their tenants, thus taking on themselves to be the representatives of all their tenants, and considering the knights of the shires as not representing such tenants."—*Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 311. It rather appears, however, that this grant of the peers was out of their demesne lands; that is, lands held as strictly private property with the serfs and bondsmen held therewith.

of every last of leather that pass beyond the sea;" A.D. 1340. but it was also provided that "every man that shippeth wools over the sea, Englishman or other, shall find good and sufficient surety to bring back again of every sack of wool, plate of silver to the value of two marks, and to bring the same to the King's exchange and there to receive his money." It was stipulated that these duties should not be considered as a precedent, but that at the expiration of two years only the same duties as before should be levied.[1] The counties palatine of Durham, Chester, Cornwall, &c., were not then represented in Parliament, and, therefore, could not be taxed by it, so they separately made a like grant, and the clergy also granted a ninth of their sheaves, fleeces, and lambs.[2]

Redress of grievances granted, viz.:

The petitions for the redress of grievances were then presented, and their prayer having been granted, the result was, as usual, embodied in an Act of Parliament. The statute (14 Edw. III. Stat. 2) began, according to custom, by a confirmation of previous rights and liberties; then, among other things, enacted that, whereas there had been great complaints of the delay of justice, at every Parliament five commissioners, consisting of a prelate, two earls, and two barons, should be chosen, to hear complaints of delays and to give judgment, unless, on account of the difficulty of any particular case, they thought it necessary to submit it to the consideration of Parliament itself. Next, as already stated, the sheriffs, who presumed on the fact of their appointment being for a term of years, and relied on their reappointment,

provision against delay of justice,

[1] Statutes of the realm, vol. i. pp. 288, 289 and 290; and Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 112.

[2] Carte, vol. i. p. 435.

A.D. 1340. having been guilty of oppressions of the people, it

against oppressions by sheriffs, was provided that they should be elected for one year only, and that these sheriffs having let certain hundreds and wapentakes at a higher rate than they yielded to the King, all those which had been severed from the counties should be rejoined to them. Then as indeed was previously provided by the Great Charter and confirmed by statute 25 Edw. I. chap. 35, it was settled that one measure and weight should be used throughout the kingdom, and standards of bushels, gallons, and weights should be sent to every county. Lastly, in consequence of the frauds and extortions practised by the King's purveyors, who had to provide sustenance for the King and his retinue whenever he journeyed through the kingdom, it was provided that these purveyors should not compel people to sell to them; that they should neither take nor buy anything unless by agreement between buyer and seller; that purveyances for wars, or for victualling castles and towns should be made by merchants, appointed by the treasurer, in order that "none be put to sell anything against their will;" that the sheriff in each county should state the number of the King's horses for which purveyance should be made; that no purveyance should be made above that number, except that the chief keeper of the horses might have a hackney; and, that he should take care that the country was not overcharged as to the number of men attending the horses, but that there should be "for every horse a knave, without bringing women, pages, or dogs with them."

enforcement of uniformity of weights and measures,

oppressions of purveyors forbidden.

Statute relative to the King's assump-

The fears, lest the King's assumption of the title of King of France, should make Edward the King of France and England rather than of England and

France, and should thus reduce England to a dependancy of France, were allayed by a Statute (14 Edw. III. Stat. 3), providing that "our Realm of England, nor the people of the same, of what estate or condition they be, shall not in any time to come be put in subjection nor obeisance of us, nor of our heirs nor successors as kings of France." The clergy also obtained from the King a redress of certain grievances, such as, the oppressions of purveyors, and the taking into the King's hand of the temporalities, that is revenues, of vacant prelacies, churches, and benefices.[1]

A.D. 1340. Renunciation of the title of King of France.

The proceedings of this Parliament have been thus minutely dwelt on, because of their importance in showing the growing power of Parliament, and especially of the Commons, who, although they had not become a separate body, yet discussed such business as especially concerned them, separately from the "great men." The necessities of the crown were the principal inducements for calling to the Parliament Representatives of the Commons, and those places only from which aids were to be demanded, were required to send representatives, though the laws made in Parliament for other purposes extended to all.[2]

Growing power of Parliament.

Shortly after this, notwithstanding a somewhat affectionate letter from the Pope, dissuading Edward from continuing the prosecution of his claims to the throne of France, telling him that according to the law of France they were illegal, and that he was unwise to rely on the friendship of the Flemings and the Germans, the former of whom the Pope declared

The Pope endeavours to dissuade Edward from continuing the war.

[1] 14 Edward III. Statute 4.

[2] See *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 309.

A.D. 1340. were notorious for their inconstancy,[1] the King made preparations for returning to Flanders and resuming the war. He had found it necessary, however, notwithstanding the grant from Parliament, to issue a commission (dated March 1st) to the Bishop of Lincoln, the Earl of Derby, and nine others, to raise a loan for him, stating that "you know that on account of the war for the salvation of our kingdom of England, and of the English Church, we have been daily obliged to spend innumerable sums of money, we therefore empower you to contract a loan in our name."[2] It would be difficult to ascertain the exact amount of the King's debts, but they must have been enormous, and the authorities he gave for borrowing money about this time were very numerous. Among these may be mentioned, that one Antony Bache lent the King 11,720*l.* for the payment of his soldiers, and for the release of "his great golden crown" out of pawn from the Archbishop of Treves, and "the little crown" pawned at Cologne; and that the King granted him the subsidies of leather, sheep, and corn as security.[3] But still, Edward had not money enough to leave England, and was obliged to borrow 20,000 marks of the city of London.[4]

The King raises more money by loan.

The King prepares to return to Flanders.

At last the King was ready to start, and fixed the 13th of June as the day of his departure, but his Chancellor, Archbishop Stratford,[5] warned him that Philip had prepared a great fleet to intercept him on his passage, and consequently endeavoured to dis-

Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1117.

[2] Ibid. p. 1116.

[3] Ibid. p. 1124 (May 16, 1340).

[4] Carte, vol. ii. p. 436.

Tyrrell, vol. iii. p. 422. The Count of Gueldres according to Walsingham, p. 226.

suade him from the voyage. King Edward treated the information with contempt, and the Chancellor therefore resigned his seal of office. The King then sent for Sir Robert Morley his admiral, and for one Crabbe, a famous seaman, who was probably a son of an engineer of the same name who had distinguished himself at the siege of Berwick, in the reign of Edward I. They confirmed the report of the Archbishop, which put the King in a great rage, and he declared that they and the Archbishop had agreed together to prevent his going, and added, "I will go in spite of you, and you who fear where no fear is may stay at home." Morley and Crabbe then pledged their lives that, if the King then sailed, he and all who went with him would be exposed to great danger; but they said that, if the King was resolved to go, they would go with him, even although they might die for it. This appeased the King, and he sent for the Archbishop, and reinstated him in his office of Chancellor. He then sent to all the various ports, to collect together an increased number of men and ships, and on the 22nd of June, sailed from Orewell, with a fleet of about 200 vessels, on his second short and fruitless campaign. He left his son Edward as guardian of the kingdom in his absence, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earls of Lancaster, Warren, and Huntingdon, as his special advisers.[1] Before the King's departure, Archbishop Stratford again resigned the chancellorship on account of his advanced age, and his brother Robert, Bishop of Chichester, was appointed in his place.[2]

A.D. 1340

Is warned of danger,

but sets sail on June 22nd.

The report that the French had made great pre-

[1] Rot. Parl. 14 Edward III. (36); and Avesbury, pp. 54, 55, 56.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1129.

A.D. 1340. parations to intercept King Edward on his passage was soon found to be perfectly true, and, when Edward approached the port of Sluys on the coast of Flanders, he discovered a very forest of masts in the harbour. He came to anchor at Blankenberg, ten miles to the westward of the mouth of the Sluys, and sent Lord Cobham and two other knights on shore to reconnoitre the strength of the hostile fleet: On their return they reported that, besides other vessels, the enemy had nineteen ships, so large that they had never seen their like, and that among them was the Christopher, a large ship which the French had taken from the English the year before.[1] According to the very interesting account which the King himself sent to his son,[2] which is the earliest despatch in existence containing an account of a naval victory, the number of the French fleet was 190, and he says they were manned by above 35,000 Normans, Picards, and Genoese—a large number, considering the small size of many of the vessels at that time. On receiving the knights' report, the King ordered the captains to weigh anchor and stand out to sea, in order to postpone the engagement until the following day. The next morning, Saturday, the 24th of June, the French came out of the harbour to attack the English. Edward allowed them to sail out some distance, in order to get the wind and sun at his back; about ten o'clock, having placed his ships in a favourable position, he began the attack. When the fleets engaged, the French made a great noise with

and arrives off Sluys.

Great sea fight.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 87 and 106; and Knighton, col. 2577.

[2] Nicholas, *Brit. Navy*, vol. ii. p. 501, quoting from Archives of the City of London, Register "F," folio 39.

their trumpets, and the English set up a great shout. A.D. 1340
The English began with a vast flight of arrows from their long bows, which the French answered with their cross bows; but the long bows had much the best of it. They then came to close quarters, and the ships being made fast together with grappling-irons, the men-at-arms fought with swords, spears, and axes. Soon the Christopher was retaken by the English, and its capture caused great exultation on their part. She was quickly filled with English archers, and the battle raged with fresh fury. At last, about seven in the evening, the French were put to flight, and the fight ended in their complete defeat. They lost, it is said, about 25,000 men and nearly the whole of their fleet.[1]

Defeat of the French fleet with immense loss.

During Edward's absence in England, the Queen, whom he had left in Flanders, gave birth to a son named John, and called John of Ghent, or Gaunt (as pronounced) from the place of his birth.

Birth of John of Gaunt.

Before Edward had returned to Flanders the French had attacked various towns in the Low Countries, and among others, had pillaged Haspre, which belonged to William, Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, Edward's brother-in-law, who had so chivalrously adhered to Philip's side, when Edward invaded France, but had since incurred Philip's anger by accompanying Edward into the Cambresis and Thierasche.[2] This naturally alienated the Count from Philip, and he revenged himself on him by attacking Aubenton, which he soon took, pillaged, and burnt, and then dismissing his soldiers, went to England,

Philip offends the Count of Hainault by pillaging Haspre.

[1] For a fuller account of this important victory see Nicolas, *Brit. Navy*, vol. ii. chap. 1.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 86 and 89.

A.D. 1340. to conclude a more intimate alliance with his brother-in-law Edward.[1]

Philip tries to make friends of the Flemings, but they refuse.

While Edward was still in England, Philip had endeavoured to bring over the Flemings to his side.[2] He offered to forgive them all their debts to him, and to confirm to them their neutrality and freedom of commerce, provided they would only separate themselves from Edward. But they answered that the King of England had already granted them all that Philip offered, and that they had no need of other help. Philip, enraged at their refusal, induced the Pope to place Flanders under an interdict, whereby neither could mass be said in the churches, marriages celebrated, baptism performed, nor the sacraments administered to the sick or dying, till Edward sent priests from England, who cared nothing for the interdict, to perform those services.[3]

Flanders placed under an interdict by the Pope.

During Edward's absence Philip besieges Quesnoy, which is defended by cannons, now first used.

Philip, however, was not satisfied with mere ecclesiastical thunders, but he also sent his son John, Duke of Normandy, to punish the Hainaulters and the Flemings for their friendship with Edward, giving him instructions to ravage the country so that it should never recover. The Duke's siege of Quesnoy is remarkable as being, apparently, the first occasion on which cannons were used in European warfare. He is said to have been repulsed by cannons and bombards, which flung large iron bolts in such a manner as made the French afraid for their horses.[4] Although this siege is the first occasion on which mention is made of cannons being so used, yet it is probable

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 90–92.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 163.

[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 94, and Sismondi, vol. x. p. 164 (quoting Meyer).

[4] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 98.

that they were made nearly 40 years earlier, as there is a cannon at Amberg, in Germany, on which is inscribed the date of A.D. 1303. Roger Bacon, who died in 1292, knew the properties of gunpowder, but it does not follow that he was acquainted with its application to firearms. A.D. 1340. Date of earliest cannon.

When Edward landed in Flanders after defeating the French fleet at Sluys, he went to Ghent, where he held a council, and afterwards went with Van Artevelde[1] to Vilvoorde, to arrange the plan of the intended campaign with his allies. Edward arranges plan of a fresh campaign, and writes urgently to England for supplies.

The subsidy which had been granted to the King in the last Parliament was in kind, and he therefore wrôte to that about to assemble at Westminster, to say that it was necessary for him to have actual coin sent him to pay his soldiers. His letter was dated at Bruges, on the 9th July, and he styled himself King of England and France. He stated that he had arranged to besiege Tournai; that he was to be there with 100,000 men, 40,000 of whom were to be commanded by Van Artevelde, that Robert of Artois was to go to St. Omer with 50,000 men; that he would consequently require great sums of money, and he begged them to lose no time in sending him supplies.[2]

Parliament met on the 12th, and the King's letter having been read, it was agreed that the subsidy of corn, wool, and lambs, which had been granted, should be sold, and the amount sent to the King.[3] A number of merchants were summoned before Parliament, to treat about it, and minute arrangements Subsidy granted by Parliament, and amount to be remitted to Bruges.

[1] Voisin, p. 39; and Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 108.
[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1130.
[3] Rot. Parl. 14 Ed. III. part 2 (5 to 10).

A.D. 1340. were made for that purpose; the price at which the wool was to be sold was settled, and it was ordered that payment should be made in September at Bruges in gold "according to the price at which gold circulated between merchant and merchant." Arrangements were also made with the bankers "The Merchants of Bard and Peruch" as to the remitting of money on the security of the wool, which was to be sent by the 8th of September.[1]

Notwithstanding these arrangements, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the others who had the management of the affair, wrote on the 30th July and again on the 13th August, to the King to explain to him that the difficulty in collecting the wool caused a delay in sending the money.[2] Nevertheless the troops were assembled round Tournai on the 23rd of July, and the siege began.[3] The Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the Margraves of Juliers, of Brandenburg, and of Misnia, commanded various divisions, and the city was surrounded on all sides. Philip, too, who had advanced to relieve Tournai, was attended by a large body of Dukes and Counts, among whom was the young King of Scotland.[4]

Siege of Tournai.

Edward wished to bring matters to a speedy conclusion, and therefore, with that bold chivalrous personal courage which so often distinguished him, wrote from Chin-lez-Tournai, on the 26th of July, to the King of France, addressing him, however, only as Philip of Valois, and dating his letter "in the first year of our reign over France." He proposed either to fight him in single combat, or each at the head of 100 men, or

[1] Rot. Parl. 14 Edward III. pt. 2 (19 to 26).
[2] Ibid. (29 and 30).
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 111.
[4] Ibid. p. 115.

with their whole armies, so that the war might be finished in ten days. Philip answered,[1] on the 30th of July, that he had seen letters addressed by Edward to Philip of Valois, but as those letters were not addressed to him, as appeared clearly from their tenor, he should send him no answer; but he added, that he intended to drive him out of his kingdom, when it seemed good to him.[2] A.D. 1340.

Edward offers either to fight Philip in single combat or to bring on a battle in anyway; but Philip, not being addressed as King of France, refuses to notice the offer.

The English endeavoured to reduce Tournai by famine, but the siege lasted for two months without effect, and Edward could not succeed in bringing Philip to a general engagement.[3] Robert of Artois had been defeated at St. Omer on the 26th July, and the defeat had been followed, by a sudden causeless and unaccountable terror which came over his troops at midnight, causing them to pull down their tents, and take to flight. This singular circumstance induced many of the soldiers, who knew the accusations that had been brought against Robert of Artois, to think that their companions must have been bewitched.[4]

Defeat of Robert of Artois at St. Omer.

The siege of Tournai continued, but without any prospect of a successful termination, and many circumstances combined to make Edward desirous of peace. No money had arrived from England; the French had taken great part of Guienne; and the Scots, assisted by the French, had gained great successes, were ravaging the North of England, and had taken Edinburgh by stratagem.[5] Philip, on his side, was equally desirous of bringing the war to a conclusion; for he had secret information that Tournai was

Edward, being harassed by want of money, offers to make peace.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pt. 2, p. 1131.
[2] Ibid. p. 1131.
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 20.
[4] Ibid. p. 124.
[5] Ibid. p. 113.

A.D. 1340. nearly starved out, and was pressed for money as much as Edward. By the mediation, therefore, of his sister, the mother of the Count of Hainault, and mother-in-law of the King of England, a truce to last till the 24th of the following June, between the English and French, and English and Scots, was made on the 25th of September.[1] It was agreed that all hostilities should at once cease in the Low Countries, at the end of twenty days in Aquitaine, and of twenty-five days in Scotland. Both armies were then dismissed, and thus ended Edward's second useless and inglorious campaign in France. It can hardly be doubted that social progress and commercial intercourse were much promoted by these campaigns; but, as military exploits, they were complete failures. Edward returned loaded with debts, and was obliged to "steal away privately" for Zealand, leaving Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, in pawn for them.[2] At Zealand he found a vessel, in which he and his Queen embarked, and, after a bad passage of three days, landed at the Tower of London, in the middle of the night of November 30th.[3]

Truce for nine months.

Edward and his Queen "steal away" to England, leaving the Earl of Derby in pawn.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1136; and Capgrave's *Chronicles of England*, edited by Hingeston, p. 209.

[2] Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 237.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1141.

ARCHBISHOP STRATFORD,

From his Monument in Canterbury Cathedral. (For explanation, see List of Illustrations.)

CHAPTER X.

THE KING'S UNEXPECTED RETURN TO ENGLAND AND ITS CONSEQUENCES; PROLONGATION OF TRUCE WITH FRANCE, AND CONCLUSION OF TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND.

A.D. 1340.

The King's unexpected return.

His punishment of the Constable of the Tower, and of the officers who neglected to send him supplies.

THE KING'S return to England was quite unexpected, and his arrival in the middle of the night took all by surprise. He found the Tower unguarded, and his first act therefore was to imprison the Constable and other officers for their negligence. He then turned his attention to the punishment of those who, as in his anger he thought, had neglected to supply him with money for the payment of his allies. The Mayor of London, the Clerk of the Exchequer, and many others whose duty it was to raise or receive the subsidies which had been granted, were thrown into prison; as were also Robert Stratford, Bishop of Chichester, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was then his Chancellor, and the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who was his Lord Treasurer, but he was soon obliged to release them, as it was contrary to the Clementine Constitution to imprison bishops.[1]

The next victim was one who, in his position as the King's confidential adviser for many years, nearly approached that of the Prime Minister of modern England. This was John Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the contest that now ensued between him and the King is one of the most curious and

[1] Tyrrell's *History of England*, vol. iii. p. 441.

A.D. 1340. characteristic incidents of the reign. That the charges against the Archbishop were utterly groundless, is sufficiently proved, by the circumstances attending his restoration to power, and his subsequent intimate friendship with the King. Stratford had taken so prominent a part in all the political proceedings, that it was not unnatural for the courtiers and sycophants, by whom Edward was surrounded in Flanders —when seeking for a victim on whom to fix the responsibility of the King's profuse expenditure and the blame of tardiness in supplying him with money to meet it—to fasten on him. The Archbishop's first act, on hearing of the King's sudden landing, looked like guilty fear. He fled to Canterbury, and took refuge within the sacred precincts of the Priory of Christ Church. But Stratford knew and had deplored the state of England. He knew that the Tower was undefended, and that pirates might have sailed up the Thames and pillaged it; and, although he knew that this disgraceful circumstance was not owing to any fault of his, yet he also knew that the King in his rage would hold him responsible for it. He therefore fled to a place of safety.

Edward's quarrel with Archbishop Stratford,

who flies for safety,

On hearing of the Archbishop's flight, the King sent to demand that he should either give himself up, or find means to pay the King's creditors the sums for which he had made himself responsible. The Archbishop answered, that he must take time to consider what his answer should be. He then wrote letter after letter to the King, advising him to free himself from his evil counsellors; but, when no notice was taken of his communications, he took another step which looked like the revenge of a disappointed priest, desirous of availing himself of his power of

exciting superstitious terror and ranging it on his side, rather than the indignant protest of conscious innocence. With attendant circumstances of unusual solemnity, he preached a sermon in Canterbury Cathedral excommunicating all, except the King and his family, who should disturb the peace of the kingdom or lay violent hands on the clergy. But those were days of rough justice, or injustice when needful, and the priest could hardly be blamed for defending himself with the weapons provided for him by his position. A.D. 1340.

The King answered by summoning the Archbishop to his presence to defend himself, at the same time sending a letter to the prior of the convent where he had taken refuge, which he ordered the prior to read in public. In this, he charged the Archbishop with being the author of the war, with neglecting to provide means for carrying it on, and with endeavouring to escape a trial. Again the Archbishop preached a political sermon, and, when it was ended, ordered the King's letter to be read in English to the vast assembled crowd. He then answered every charge against him, and the scribes were set to work to multiply copies of his defence and send them to be read in every church in his province. This was the best, and a very effectual, mode of publication before the days of printing.

but is summoned by the King to return.

The Archbishop's answer.

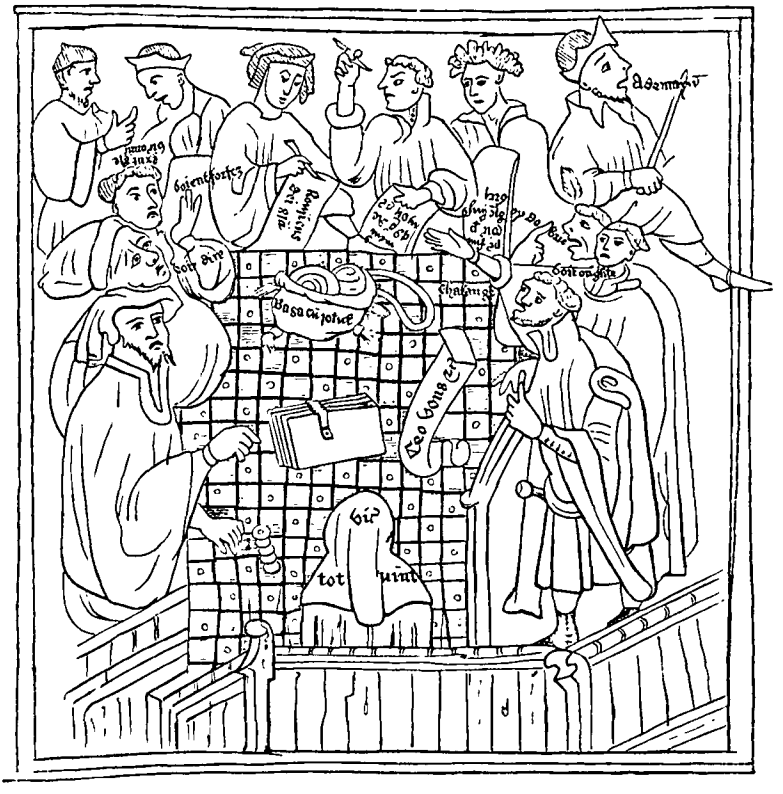
The Archbishop also wrote to the King, and now for the first time took the step which prudence as well as justice demanded. He advised the King to call a Parliament, and offered to defend himself before it. At the same time he wrote to Sir Robert Bourchier, the first lay Chancellor, complaining that excessive demands for subsidies were made on the clergy;

He offers to defend himself before Parliament.

A.D. 1340. and also to the King in council complaining of the unconstitutional acts of his advisers. He further sent a circular to the Bishop of London and his suffragans, calling on them to unite with him in enforcing obedience to the laws of the land. The King, or rather his advisers in his name, now replied by a document known as the "Famosus Libellus." This was addressed to the Bishop of London, who was ordered to make it known as publicly as possible. It elaborately repeated all the former charges against the Archbishop, adding, that in consequence of his not sending money to Flanders the King was obliged to give up the expedition at the very point of success—a convenient but time-serving discovery, — and that the Archbishop refused to confer with the King except in full Parliament, which, for reasons which were not given, he said it was not convenient then to call. This curious document ended by comparing the Archbishop to "a mouse in your bag, a serpent in your lap, a fire in your bosom." The Archbishop replied in the same style, showing, conclusively, that he was not answerable for the wars as he was not in the King's counsels when war was declared, and exculpating himself from the responsibility of the insufficiency of money for the King's needs. To this, no reply was attempted, but the King wrote an angry rejoinder, stating that he should substantiate his charges against the Archbishop when he saw fit.

The King's reply—the "Famosus Libellus."

At length it was settled to hold a Parliament, and the Archbishop determined to attend and take his seat among his peers. It met on April 23rd, 1341, and the Archbishop crossed the Thames from Lambeth on the following day, accompanied by the Bishops of London and Chichester, a great number of the clergy



COURT OF EXCHEQUER IN IRELAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

From the Red Book of the Exchequer Court of Ireland; copied from Gentleman's Magazine, January 1855.
(For explanation, see List of Illustrations.)

and knights, and escorted by a body of armed men. A.D. 1341.
He presented himself at the door of Westminster Hall, but was refused admittance by Ralph Baron of Stafford, the seneschal of the Royal Household, and the Lord John Darcy the King's Chamberlain. They defended the door with a body of armed men. The Archbishop was informed that he could not be allowed to enter until he had cleared himself of certain charges made against him in the Court of Exchequer. He answered that he was only fulfilling his duty in attending the King's Parliament with the other peers of the realm, but that, in order to avoid giving offence, he would appear before that Court. He accordingly did so, heard the charges against him, was allowed time to answer them, and again presented himself at Westminster Hall. His return was unexpected, and he took his seat in the Painted Chamber unopposed. No proceedings took place in Parliament on that occasion; and when it again met, on Saturday the 28th of April, the Archbishop presented himself at the door. His entrance was opposed by armed men, and an unseemly altercation ensued between him and John Darcy, who came up at the moment, in which, however, the Archbishop conducted himself with great dignity. Signs of a wish for reconciliation with the Archbishop were now given by the King. The Earls of Northampton and Salisbury were appointed as mediators, and the King left it to Parliament to adjust the terms on which the Archbishop should be restored to favour. His enemies, however, tried to damage him in the eyes of the country, and drew up articles of impeachment against him. The Archbishop met them openly, attended Parliament on the 1st of May, and

The Archbishop refused admittance to Parliament,

but takes his seat.

He is again opposed.

A.D. 1341. demanded to be arraigned before his peers according to the provisions of Magna Charta. A committee was appointed to enquire into the whole matter; but when the Archbishop again took his seat, he was rudely interrupted by the King's advisers. King Edward had already begun to feel the need of the Archbishop's counsels, and was greatly annoyed at this insult to him; and, when Parliament again met on the 3rd of May, he declared, in the presence of the whole assembly, that he admitted him to his grace and held him free from all the charges brought against him. Stratford was then replaced on the Privy Council, and remained till his death a firm friend of the King. Two years afterwards the proceedings against him were formally declared to be null and void, on the ground that they were neither reasonable nor true.[1]

but subsequently admitted to the King's grace.

King Edward's conduct, throughout the whole of these transactions, cannot but be considered as very despicable. There was evidently no ground for the accusations brought against the Archbishop, and the attack on him is explicable, only on the ground that the moral condition of the Court was thoroughly vicious. King Edward's morality was by no means of an elevated cast. Stratford was a severe reformer, and had thereby probably drawn on himself the

[1] I have taken all the facts in this account of the dispute between the King and Archbishop Stratford from Dean Hook's valuable work, *The Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iv. c. 10, who has, as he informs his readers, carefully compiled it from various, not easily accessible, authorities, but some interesting details are necessarily omitted, and the whole Life of the Archbishop in Dean Hook's work is well worth careful study. See also Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1147 and 1154; and Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 139 (22).

enmity of the younger and more dissipated courtiers, who easily persuaded the King to listen to their advice. A.D. 1341.

After the reinstatement of Archbishop Stratford, Parliament proceeded with its ordinary business. It was called together by the King for the purpose of obtaining supplies, but would grant nothing until the King had agreed to certain demands for the redress of grievances. These related, principally, to providing securities against the tyranny of the King's officers, who, it was assumed, could not be brought before the courts of justice, so long as they retained their offices. It was therefore demanded, and granted, that "in every Parliament, at the third day, the King should take into his hands the offices of all the ministers aforesaid, and so should they abide four or five days, so always that they and all other ministers be put to answer to every complaint, and, if default be found, should be punished by judgment of the peers."[1] From this arrangement the Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the Barons of the Exchequer, were exempted. These demands were perfectly reasonable, but the King, with a duplicity worthy of the worst treacheries of the Stuarts, agreed to them only in order to obtain a grant of supply, and ventured on repudiating them by writ on the 1st of October following, stating that, whereas such demands were "contrary to the laws and customs of our Realm of England, and to our prerogatives and rights royal" we never consented to the making of the statute, but "dissimuled in the premisses," and, therefore, "*we have decreed* the said statute to be void!"[2]

Parliament refuses supplies without redress of grievances, which were principally relative to responsibility of King's ministers.

The King's treachery.

[1] Statute 15 Edw. III. chap. iii.–vi.

[2] Statutes at large, vol. i. p. 297.

A.D. 1341.

Privilege of Peers.

An important statute (15 Ed. III. Stat. 1, c. 2) was passed by this Parliament, which has already been noticed in connection with the reversal of the proceedings against Henry of Lancaster in 1327. It provided that Peers should be tried only by their Peers. This was an authoritative establishment of a pre-existing practice; but it is especially remarkable, as being the first occasion, on which the "distinction of the Peers of the Realm, as a separate class, by privileges confined to themselves personally as Peers, and not extending to any others, was first, apparently, established." The cause of its being passed at this time was doubtless Stratford's demand to be tried by his peers.[1]

Supply of wool granted.

A subsidy in the form of a grant of a supply of wool was then granted, and it was provided that in order that the King might be first "served," no wool should be exported from the kingdom before Michaelmas; "that they that have wools should be bound to sell, according to the sort and price of the country, to accomplish the wool granted to the King," and that the wools "should be gathered, according to the weight ordained by the statute, that is to say, 14 lbs. for the stone, and 26 stones for the sack."[2]

The King prepares for the renewal of war with Scotland.

Notwithstanding the truce made by Edward with France and Scotland, or perhaps in anticipation that it would not be renewed at its expiration in June, he continually made preparations for the recommencement of war. On the 12th of February, in accordance with the arbitrary system on which ships were provided for the navy, he wrote to the mayors and

[1] *Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, vol. i. p. 311; Parry's Parliament and Councils, p. 113, note (°), and Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 127.

[2] 15 Edward III. Statute 3.

bailiffs of twenty-eight seaports to order ships to be got ready, of which a list was to be sent to him, and directed that two men from each port should attend the Parliament, then about to assemble, to give information about the ships, and to consult about the best means of repulsing the French. At the same time, he made an alliance with the Kings of Arragon and Majorca against "Philip of Valois."[1] On the 10th of April, however, he sent commissioners to treat for peace with Philip, whom he still refused to address as King of France; he seems, even then, to have contemplated the necessity of renewing the war, for, on the same day, he ordered 100 ships "called pessoners and creyers,"[2] and other "minute ships under 30 tons burthen," to be collected together in readiness for his passage to France; and, a few days afterwards, on the 18th, he ordered a large number of bows and arrows, "because we want many bows and arrows for our expedition of war against France, which we have taken in strong hand." There were ordered 7,300 bows, 14,550 sheaves of arrows, each containing 24 (thus giving about four dozen rounds for each bow), 2,000 separate heads for the arrows, and 50 dozen cords for the bows. The bows were to be paid for at 12*d.* each, each sheaf of arrows with sharp heads, 14*d.*, and without, 12*d.*[3]

A.D. 1341.

Negotiations for peace, but preparations for war with France.

A fleet ordered to be collected together, and a supply of bows and arrows demanded.

Still, the King, apparently, wished to avoid the

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1150, 1151.

[2] A "crayer" was a small merchant vessel which seldom exceeded sixty tons in burthen. Crayers were classed with fishing boats and other small vessels under thirty tons burthen in 1341. "Pessoners" or "poissoners," were fishing-boats. Only one instance has been found of the use of the word.—Nicolas' *Navy*, vol. ii. pp. 161 and 165.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1156, 1157.

A.D. 1341. immediate renewal of the war with France for, on the 24th of May, he directed his Flemish and Brabant allies to treat for a prolongation of the truce, till the 29th of August, with "the illustrious man," Philip of Valois,[1] but a month afterwards, on the 24th of June, hearing that, notwithstanding the truce, the French were preparing to invade England, Edward ordered his fleets to be got ready.[2] It is clear that on neither side was there any sincere desire for peace; and that, while on the one hand Edward wished only for delay, on the other Philip never ceased secretly to help the Scots, and to connive at his troops and vessels of war harassing the English. Philip, too, neglected no opportunity of detaching Edward's allies from his side, and succeeded so completely with the Emperor of Germany, that he persuaded him to write Edward a specious letter, breaking off the alliance between them. The Emperor began by stating that, although he was oppressed with cares, he was willing to try to bring about a peace between England and France; he then went on to remind Edward, that the war would cost him a great deal both in men and money, and concluded by revoking the Vicariate which he had granted him, because, he said, Edward had made a truce with France without consulting him, as had been agreed between them.[3] Edward rejected the Emperor's offer of mediation;[4] but, on the very same day, he appointed other commissioners to treat for peace with Philip,[5] although only a few days afterwards, on the 23rd of July, he wrote to the Earl of Gloucester, to say that he should require a large number of bows and arrows for the expedition to

Further negotiations for peace.

Philip breaks up the alliance between Edward and the Emperor.

Edward orders a further supply of bows and

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1160. [2] Ibid. p. 1165.
[3] Ibid. p. 1166. [4] Ibid. p. 1167. [5] Ibid. p. 1168.

France, which, he said, he was just about to undertake. He ordered the Earl to send to the Tower of London, without delay, 1,000 bows, of which 250 were to be painted, and the rest to be white, and 300 sheaves of arrows. The price of the painted bows was to be 18*d.* each.[1] At length, however, these inconsistent proceedings were brought to an end; and on the 27th September,[2] a prolongation of the truce till the 24th of the following June was agreed on and proclaimed, the King having written, a short time previously, to Bayonne, to order ships not to be sent, because, as he said, he had unwillingly agreed to a truce.[3]

A.D. 1341.

arrows for war with France.

Truce between England and France.

Edward now prepared for war with Scotland, for the Scots had availed themselves of his being occupied in foreign warfare, to make greater efforts than before to free themselves from the domination of the English. The events which took place in that country since the appointment of Sir Andrew Moray as Regent, and the retirement of Edward from Scotland at the end of the year 1336 must therefore now be related.

War with Scotland.

Events in Scotland from King's departure from Scotland at the end of A.D. 1336 until the truce with France.

When Edward left Scotland, he gave the command of his army to the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk. Baliol, although nominally King of Scotland, had a very partial and insecure hold on the country; without English support he would have been quickly driven out, and the young David welcomed back from France.

The first operation of the English was to lay siege to Dunbar. This strong fortress was the key of the south-east of Scotland, and it was therefore of the utmost importance to the English to gain possession of it. In the absence of the Earl of March, to whom the castle belonged, it was defended by

Siege of Dunbar.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1169. [2] Ibid. p. 1177. [3] Ibid. p. 1175.

A.D. 1341. his wife, a daughter of the famous Randolph, Earl of Moray. From the darkness of her hair, and her successful defence of the castle, she got the name of Black Agnes of Dunbar. For five months she resisted the English, fearlessly exposing herself on the ramparts, directing her soldiers, and turning the English into ridicule. When a stone hurled from the engines struck the walls, she herself wiped off the dust with a napkin, and wherever the attack was fiercest, there was she present. At length, two Genoese ships arrived in support of the English, and blockaded the entrance to the harbour, thus preventing the Scots from obtaining supplies by sea. The garrison was reduced to the utmost extremity and was on the point of yielding, when Alexander Ramsay, of Dalhousie, sailing at midnight from the Bass, managed to pass the blockading ships, and convey provisions into the fortress. Salisbury then gave up the siege in despair. After this, the Scots had great successes; they cleared the open country of the English, and confined them within the walls of the five castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Perth, Cupar, and Roxburgh.

Black Agnes.

English occupation confined to five castles.

Chivalric amusements during the sieges.

The spirit of the times is strikingly shown in the amusements with which the actors in these fierce conflicts diverted themselves, but which indeed were scarcely less fatal than the battles themselves. They were the offspring of chivalry, which at that time was at its highest point of development. On one occasion, Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, sent to Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, whose bravery procured him the title of "The Flower of Chivalry," to beg him to run three courses, or have three jousts, with him. "The Flower of Chivalry" was wounded in the hand, by a splinter from his own

lance, in the first encounter, and was obliged to give up the contest. On another occasion, the Earl entreated Sir Alexander Ramsay to hold a solemn jousting for three days, twenty against twenty, which was instantly agreed to. Two English knights were killed, and Sir William Ramsay was so severely wounded by a spear which penetrated through the bars of his helmet, that he died as soon as the spear was pulled out. A.D. 1341.

About this time the Scots had a great loss in the death of the Regent, Sir Andrew Moray, after which Robert the Steward was appointed sole governor. His first act was to send the Knight of Liddesdale to the King of France for help; and then, about the end of April, A.D. 1339, just at the time that Edward was preparing to besiege Cambrai, he laid siege to Perth. The siege of that city had lasted ten weeks, and the Scots were about to give it up, when five French ships of war, with the Knight of Liddesdale on board, appeared in the Tay. The knight had executed his mission with well-timed success. The siege now proceeded with renewed vigour, and during its progress there occurred a striking incident. In the midst of the military operations, on the 7th July, soon after noon, the sun was eclipsed. There was for a short time nearly total darkness, and the eclipse lasted on the whole for two hours and a half. The soldiers of both armies forgot their strife, and gazed in terror on the sky. But the leader of the besiegers, Sir William Bullock, who had been Baliol's Chancellor, and had deserted his master, unintimidated at what was then thought to be a sign of divine wrath, redoubled his efforts, and the English governor yielded the castle to its assailants.

Death of the Regent of Scotland.

The governor of Scotland sends to France for help, and then besieges Perth.

Arrival of French ships.

Eclipse of the sun.

A.D. 1341. But although the cause of the Bruce party was now flourishing, and their Scotch opponents were unsupported by the presence of their King, who had become an object of suspicion to the English, and had, at Edward's orders, retired, a pensioned dependant, to England, yet the country was suffering frightfully from the miseries of war. Famine raged in the land, and the district round Perth was reduced to such a desert, that the wild deer came down from the mountains, and ranged about in herds close to the town. But the Steward still pursued his course, and, after the capture of Perth, laid siege to Stirling, of which he soon obtained possession.

Misery of Scotland.

Edward had returned to England before the siege of Stirling began, and, being anxious to prevent its fall, and inflict a heavy blow on the Scots, before war again broke out with France, went to Newcastle-on-Tyne in November, A.D. 1341, and immediately issued orders to his military tenants to join him there with about 1,000 men-at-arms on the 24th January following.[1] But Stirling fell before he could advance to its relief, and Edward's fleet having been shattered by a tempest, he was unable to take any personal part in the war.

Edward advances towards Scotland, but takes no active part in the war.

After the siege of Stirling, the Scots laid siege to Edinburgh, of which they obtained possession by a stratagem. One Walter Curry, a merchantman of Dundee, landed in the Forth, and he and his followers shaved off their beards to make themselves look like Englishmen, the Scots not having adopted the Norman fashion of shaving the beard.[2] They then presented themselves at the gate of the castle, as Englishmen and friends, and offered to supply the garrison with

Capture of Edinburgh by the Scots.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1181. [2] Tytler's *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 439.

food. The porter, deceived by their appearance and professions, allowed them to enter, when Douglas and his friends rushed from a hiding place, obtained entrance into the castle, and took possession of it. A.D. 1342

Soon after this, in consequence of Edward being inconvenienced by the dispersion of his fleet, and of the Scots having become alarmed at his evident intention to invade Scotland with vigour, the latter made proposals for peace to which he was not unwilling to listen. Early in December a truce for six months was agreed on between them, the chief condition of which was, that, unless young David Bruce their King returned to Scotland by the first of May with a force sufficient to resist the English and defend his country, the Scots would submit themselves to Edward.[1] Truce with Scotland.

Edward then went back to England,[2] Bruce returned to Scotland on June 4 of the following year, and at the end of the year a truce for two years was made between England and Scotland.[3] After this, no events having influence on England took place in Scotland for nearly four years, when their king was brought a prisoner to England. Extended to two years.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 140.

[2] Edward was at Newcastle-on-Tyne up to Dec. 5th, 1341, at "Menros" (Melrose?) on December 27th, and till January 10th, 1342, and in London on the 1st of February.—Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1184–1186.

[3] Tytler, vol. i. p. 443.

CHAPTER XI.

RECOMMENCEMENT OF WAR WITH FRANCE, AND THE INVASION OF BRITTANY.

A.D. 1342. ON Edward's return to London, from his expedition to Scotland, he was continually, and at the very same moment, occupied with negotiations for peace on the one hand, and preparations for war on the other. The invasion of France from the north had proved a failure; but there now arose another combination of circumstances which gave Edward an opportunity of entering France from the west, rekindled the war and fanned it into a flame which blazed for many years, placed France at the feet of Edward, and brought the King of France and his son as prisoners to England. It was during this campaign that Prince Edward, since known as Edward the Black Prince, gained his fame as a warrior; and that the taking of Calais, opened the gates of France to England for more than two hundred years. The circumstances, out of which this great war immediately sprang, were connected with a dispute relative to the succession to the Duchy of Brittany.

Origin of fresh war with France.

Disputed succession to the Duchy of Brittany.

Arthur, the second Duke of Brittany, had, by his first wife Marie, daughter of Guy, Viscount of Limoges, three sons; by his second, Joland of Dreux, one, named John of Montfort, and three daughters. The three sons of the first marriage were Guy, Count of Penthièvre, who died on the

16th of March, A.D. 1331, during the life of his father, leaving an only daughter, named Jane; Peter, who died young; and John, who succeeded to the duchy as John the Third. John the Third died on the 30th of April, A.D. 1341, on his return from the siege of Tournai, where he had attended the King of France, "better accoutred than any other prince or lord."[1] He left no issue, but, in order to prevent the succession to the throne of his half-brother, John of Montfort, whom he detested,[2] he had given his niece, Jeanne of Penthièvre, in marriage to Charles of Blois, who was nephew of Philip of Valois, his father having married Philip's youngest sister Margaret.[3] Duke John wished to enlist Philip on the side of his niece, and thus defeat the just claims of his half-brother, although Philip had succeeded to the throne of France on the very principles which would exclude Jeanne of Penthièvre. Brittany however had passed as a female fief more than once before, and did again afterwards. A.D. 1341.

John of Montfort takes possession of the Duchy,

Immediately on the death of Duke John, John of Montfort took measures to secure possession of the duchy. He first proceeded to Nantes, the capital of Brittany, where he was well received by the citizens as their lord. They all swore fealty and did homage to him,[4] and the treasurer gave up to him a large sum of money which Duke John had accumulated there.[5] He then proceeded to Brest, which he took after some fighting and after the death of the governor Garnier de Clisson; next he attacked Rennes, which the citizens were ready to surrender, but the nobles

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 127. [2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 108.
[3] *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 128. [4] Ibid. p. 128.
[5] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1164.

A.D. 1341. wished to hold out, and a fight ensued between these two divisions of the inhabitants, which ended in an agreement to give up the town to De Montfort. The strong castle of Hennebon, situated near the sea-coast on the south of Brittany, afterwards memorable for its gallant defence by the Countess of Montfort against the Count of Blois, surrendered without striking a blow. Vannes next yielded; and De Montfort then proceeded to Roche Periou, a castle of which Olivier de Clisson was governor. Of this and of Auray, after some little delay, he obtained possession by negotiation. Other towns also yielded, and De Montfort obtained possession of the greater part of Brittany, although the nobles held aloof from him.[1]

but is summoned to Paris to submit his claims to the decision of the King.

In the meantime, Charles of Blois himself took no active measures to obtain possession of the duchy, but contented himself with appealing to Philip. Philip, accordingly, summoned John of Montfort to Paris, ordering him to present himself before the Court of Peers, and receive its decision as to the rival claims of himself and Charles of Blois. De Montfort went to Paris, attended by 400 knights. A great discussion before the Court ensued, in which the laws of Moses were cited on one side, and the custom which regulated the succession of subjects on the other. But the court had stronger arguments to guide them than those of the lawyers, and, on September 7th A.D. 1341, decision was given in favour of Philip's nephew.[2] This was what De Montfort expected, and therefore, in order to avoid being placed under arrest until he had given up his strong places, had fled from Paris, early in the morning, at the opening of the gates;

Philip decides against him.

De Montfort escapes to Nantes,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 128–133.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 189.

escaped in the disguise of a tradesman, with four of his attendants, the rest keeping about his house as usual and providing for his table, whilst he was supposed to be sick in his chamber. His departure was thus concealed for several days, very few of his own retinue knowing of it till he had got back to Brittany.[1] He directed his steps to Nantes, where he joined his Countess; and then, knowing he had made the King of France his enemy, he resolved to make the King of England his friend. He therefore embarked for England, and landed in Cornwall, at a port called Cepsee,[2] and finding that Edward was at Windsor, he sought him there. He was well received by the King and Queen and the whole court; Robert of Artois being one of the number. Having explained the cause of his coming, he offered to hold the Duchy of Brittany of the King of England, and do him homage for it, provided Edward would support him against the King of France, or any other claimant of the Duchy. Edward, considering that he would have an easy access to France through Brittany, and that his German and Flemish allies had deserted him, lent a willing ear to De Montfort's proposals. He therefore granted the Count's request,

A.D. 1341.

and then goes to England.

He secures Edward's help on condition of acknowledging him as King of France.

[1] Carte, vol. ii. p. 446; and Barnes's *Edward*, p. 243, quoting Mezeray.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 133. Buchon, in a note, calls this place Chertsey, which is probably correct. If so, De Montfort did not land in Cornwall; but still it is somewhat unlikely that he sailed up the Thames. According to Froissart, De Montfort visited England before he was summoned to Paris, but this is improbable. There can be but little doubt that he first resolved to make a friend of Edward when he broke with Philip. De Montfort, however, certainly did homage for Brittany to Edward at Westminster, on May 20, 1346, after his escape from imprisonment in Paris.—Rymer, vol. iii. p. 39.

A.D. 1341. received his homage for Brittany,[1] and, on September 24th A.D. 1341, first designating him as Duke of Brittany and Count of Montfort, created him Earl of Richmond, investing him with all its rights and privileges. These were, the castles, vills, hamlets, military fiefs, advowsons of churches, abbeys, priories, hospitals, chapels, and other religious houses, wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats, fisheries, parks, woods, warrens, game, markets, liberties, free customs, services, as well of free as of born tenants and all other things whatever and wherever belonging or appertaining to the Earldom, in the same manner as it was held by John, the late Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond.[2] De Montfort then returned to Nantes.

De Montfort returns to Brittany.

When De Montfort escaped from Paris, Philip and Charles of Blois prepared to take possession of Brittany. Philip however took no personal part in the expedition, but appointed his eldest son, John Duke of Normandy, to its command. John was accompanied by his uncle, the Count of Alençon; by the Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and other nobles. By the help of his friends, Charles was enabled to levy an army of 5000 men-at-arms, 3000 crossbowmen, who were then called Genoese, because the most skilful of them came from the mountains of Liguria; and a numerous corps of French infantry.[3] On entering Brittany, they laid siege to the castle of Chantonceaux, which was very strong, and made a gallant defence; but at last, the besiegers brought

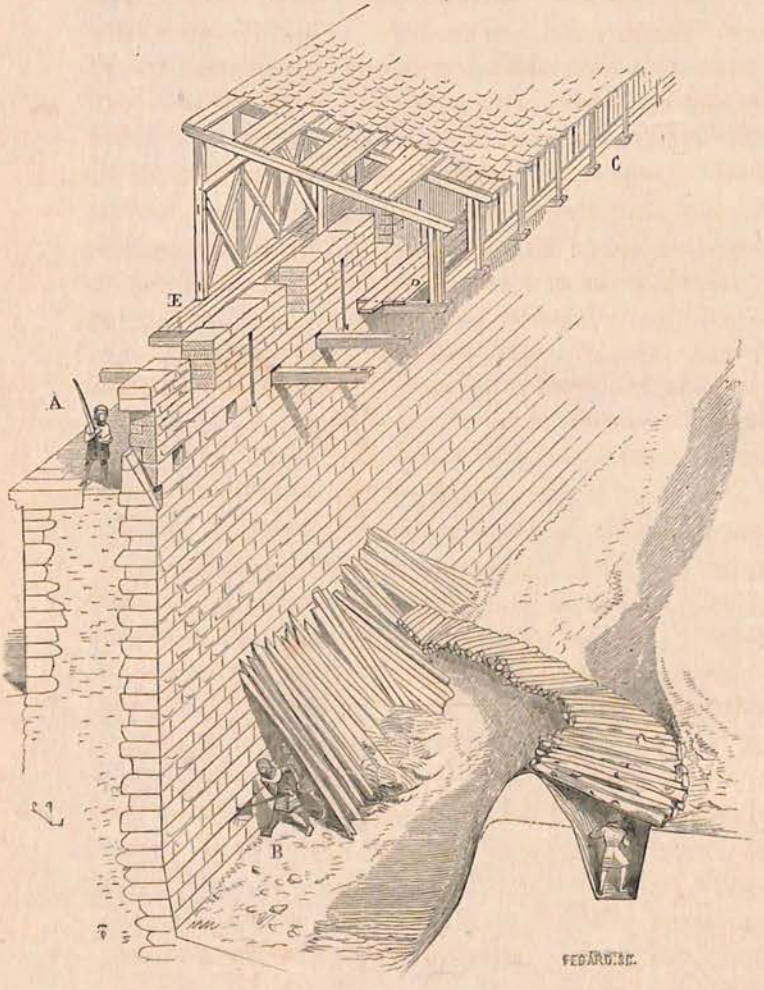
Charles of Blois raises forces to take possession of the Duchy.

He takes Chantonceaux.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart* (vol. i. p. 133, note), thinks that De Montfort then only *promised* to do homage for Brittany.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1176. This grant was confirmed at Westminster on the 20th February following. See Rymer, p. 1187.

[3] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 191.



COVERED WAY TO PROTECT PIONEERS ADVANCING TO UNDERMINE WALLS.

From Viollet-le-Duc's Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.
(For explanation, see List of Illustrations.)

up quantities of great beams and faggots to fill up the ditches, so that they could get to the foot of the castle walls. The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, and firebrands; notwithstanding which, their opponents advanced close to the walls, under cover of the large beams they had brought up, and were thus enabled to mine the walls in safety. The castle then soon surrendered, and the lives and effects of the garrison were spared. A.D. 1342.

and then besieges and takes Nantes,

The invaders next advanced to Nantes, and, either by treachery or mismanagement on the part of Henry of Leon the governor, De Montfort's only early supporter, they succeeded not only in taking the town, (on November 1st), but also in taking prisoner De Montfort himself, who was carried off to Paris, and kept in prison there for nearly four years.[1]

and takes De Montfort prisoner to Paris.

Heroic efforts of the Countess of Montfort.

The blow thus inflicted on De Montfort's cause would have been overwhelming, but for the heroic courage of his wife, who, as Froissart says, possessed the spirit of a man and the heart of a lion. She was at Rennes when she heard of the capture of her husband; but, instead of being thereby dispirited, she roused herself to greater exertions, and raised the courage of her friends and soldiers by presenting to them her infant son, saying, "Be not discomforted, nor amazed for my lord whom we have lost. He was but a single man; see here my little son, who, please God, will be his restorer, and who will do you much service." She then put Rennes in a state to stand a siege, and afterwards went to the strong castle of Hennebon, in order to be conveniently placed for the reception of the promised help from the English.[2]

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 136–138. [2] Ibid. p. 138.

A.D. 1342.

Edward helping the Earl of Montfort, not considered by Philip as war with France.

It is singular that the promise of assistance given by Edward to De Montfort was not considered a breach of the truce just renewed between England and France.[1] The war about to commence was looked on as a private quarrel between two rivals for the Duchy of Brittany, in which Edward supported one side, and Philip the other; and it seemed convenient to consider that the royal interests were not concerned, for whether it was the Count of Blois who succeeded to the Duchy, or his rival the Count of Montfort, the successor would, in either case, be the feudatory of the King of France.

Edward delays to send the promised help.

The Countess of Montfort sends Amaury de Clisson to England.

Edward, however, was in no hurry to fulfil his promise. He took no steps to support De Montfort, until the Countess sent Amaury de Clisson, entreating him to send the promised help, declaring that she recognised him as King of France, that she would open to him, as such, all the places which she held in the Duchy,[2] and proposing that her son should

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 191.

[2] Sismondi (vol. x. p. 200) states that Amaury de Clisson found Edward thinking of nothing but feasting the *Countess* of Salisbury with whom (following Froissart), he stated that the King had fallen in love. But Froissart (vol. i. p. 148), on the contrary, states that Edward was feasting the *Earl* of Salisbury (and not the Countess), who had just returned from prison, having been exchanged for the Earl of Moray in the summer of (probably in June) 1342. It is, however, probable, that Froissart utterly confused the sequence of events at this time, for it was impossible that Edward could have been feasting the Earl of Salisbury at the time of De Clisson's visit to England, unless indeed, which is not unlikely, De Clisson came twice to England, During his (first?) visit Salisbury was still in prison. Amaury de Clisson came to England in or before March, 1342. During that month Edward wrote the several orders mentioned in the text, specially referring to an agreement with De Clisson, which prove the time of his visit; but Salisbury was in prison then, and for at least two

marry one of the King's daughters, who should be called the Duchess of Brittany.[1] Edward yielded to A.D. 1342.

months subsequently. On the 20th of May Edward made arrangements for his release (Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1195). It is probable, however, that De Clisson came twice to England, in consequence of Edward's dilatoriness, for on the 20th July, Edward refers to "other subsequent conventions" with De Clisson (Et postmodum aliæ conventiones inter Almaricum, &c., &c.), although Froissart mentions only one visit (Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1205). The siege of Rennes did not begin till some time after February, and it was after the siege had begun that, according to Froissart, De Clisson visited Edward, and, as Froissart says, he returned to Brittany with Sir Walter de Maunay. This must therefore have been his second visit. Edward also appointed Sir Walter de Maunay, "whom he loved much, for he had well and loyally served him in many perilous deeds," to return to Brittany with De Clisson, with 3,000 or 4,000 of the best bowmen of England; he gave him authority to take possession of all the castles in Brittany in his name, and so infatuated was Edward in his determination to prosecute the war with France, on any pretext, and at any cost, that he actually borrowed 1,000*l.* of De Montfort, to pay his own soldiers, whom he was sending to support De Montfort's claims to the Duchy (Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 148; and Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1189). Froissart's story of Edward's falling in love with the Countess of Salisbury seems to be entirely devoid of foundation; at any rate, at the time and place he assigns to his romance. Buchon's *Froissart* (vol. i. p. 145) states that Edward fell in love with the Countess, at the Earl's castle of Wark, just after David had besieged it, and he places the time of the siege immediately after King David's return to Scotland (pp. 140–142), and soon after he had taken and burnt the city of Durham (p. 142). He says that the besieged sent for help (p. 143) to King Edward, who had arrived at Berwick; that the Scots had decamped before his reaching the castle; that he remained there for one day, and fell desperately in love with the Countess. Now Bruce returned to Scotland, and landed at Innerbervie on June 4th 1342, when Edward was in the South of England, preparing for the invasion of Brittany, whither he went in the autumn of that year. It

Froissart's error as to the Countess of Salisbury.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 149.

A.D. 1342. De Clisson's entreaties, and, on February 20th, gave orders for one hundred ships to be assembled at Orewell and Great Yarmouth, to transport his soldiers to Brittany, and, on the same day, he wrote to all the Sheriffs that "No Earl, Baron, soldier, or other man-at-arms" should be allowed to leave the country without his leave.[1]

Edward orders forces to be sent to Brittany.

The King at first had no intention of taking part in the war personally, believing that he could assist De Montfort without going to war with the King of France; and Philip, as already stated, did not look on the war in Brittany as a royal war. But the French sent spies to England to ascertain what was going on, and Edward consequently felt it necessary to issue an order on the 20th of March that all persons coming into or going out of the kingdom should be searched for letters giving information about

is therefore clear that, if David invaded England, as Froissart states, soon after his return from France, Edward was not at that time in the North of England, and could not have fallen in love with the Countess in Northumberland. It is certain, however, that Froissart antedated the time at which David's invasion of England took place, and it may therefore be supposed that the fact of his falling in love with the Countess during that invasion is not thereby invalidated. But David's invasion took place in the autumn of A.D. 1346,* when Edward was laying siege to Calais; and therefore, although it is quite possible that Edward may have fallen in love with the Countess of Salisbury at some time or other, yet it is certain that Froissart's story of the time when, and circumstances under which he did so, is entirely devoid of foundation.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1187–1188.

* "The period immediately following the arrival of David in his dominions, till we reach the battle of Durham (Neville's Cross, Oct. 17, 1346), is undistinguished by events of any importance."—Tytler's *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 443.

English affairs.[1] Notwithstanding, or possibly in consequence of, these evidences of Philip's hostility, Edward appointed commissioners on the 5th of April to treat for peace with "Philip of Valois," as he continued to call the King of France. On the same day he sent to the Dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, William Count of Hainault, John of Hainault, the Lord of Beaumont, and his other allies in Flanders with the same object,[2] as he could not make peace with France without their consent. But, although Edward thus negotiated for peace, he continued his preparations for war, and seems even, at this time, to have had some thoughts of going in person; for on the 14th of April he wrote to the archbishops, bishops, earls and other nobles of Ireland, ordering a levy of soldiers "because we think, with God's help, shortly to pass over into France to recover our rights."[3] Edward also adopted his usual policy, of calling together all who could give him practical advice as to matters with which they were personally acquainted, and on the 15th of April, summoned a sort of naval Parliament. He wrote to the mayor and bailiffs of Winchelsea, Romney, Rye, Looe, Pevensey, Fowey, Polruan, and about twenty other ports, directing them each to send two of the best and most discreet seafaring men to the council about to assemble at Westminster on the 29th of April, to give their counsel and advice.[4] It was high time for Edward to bestir himself, for on the 12th of May he actually found it necessary to prepare against an invasion of the Isle of Wight, which he had good reason to believe was about to be undertaken by the French.[5]

A.D. 1342.

Edward treats for peace with Philip,

but does not relax his preparations for war.

Edward summons a naval Parliament.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1190. [2] Ibid. p. 1191.
[3] Ibid. p. 1193. [4] Ibid. p. 1193. [5] Ibid. p. 1194.

A.D. 1342.

Death of Pope Benedict XII.;

succeeded by Clement VI. who tries in vain to bring about a peace.

He tries to induce the Flemings to submit to their Count,

but fails to do so.

On the 25th of April, Pope Benedict the Twelfth died. He had always endeavoured to promote peace and to hold an even balance between the sovereigns of Europe,[1] and his death therefore was likely to diminish the very slight chances of peace raised by his attempts at mediation. His successor, Clement the Sixth, a Frenchman, devoted to French interests, and surrounded by French cardinals, endeavoured, however, to effect a reconciliation between the two Kings, and addressed a letter to them with that object on the 30th of June. But his letter, which was nothing but a string of commonplace preachings on the advantages of peace, produced no effect.[2] He also sent a legate into Flanders, with orders to take off the excommunication under which the Flemings were placed by Benedict two years before, on condition of the Flemings asking pardon for their rebellion against their Count. Louis had returned to Flanders, and had been well received by his subjects, and the Pope therefore fancied they were ready to return under the Count's yoke. But his interference was ill timed, for a quarrel had broken out between the large and small towns, which soon led to the flight of Louis and his return to Paris. Louis had granted, to Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, the exclusive privilege of manufacturing wool, and had thereby destroyed the manufactories which had previously been carried on in the small villages.[3] A civil war between these two sections of the community was consequently on the point of breaking out, but it was prevented by Van Artevelde, who seized one of the leaders of the village party, and thus reduced it to submission. Van Artevelde him-

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 196. [2] Ibid. p. 197. [3] Ibid. p. 198.

self was put in prison in his turn, but was released by his partisans, and the Count consulted his safety by returning to Paris. Thus ended, for a time, the Pope's efforts for peace. A.D. 1342.

Edward continues his preparations for war.

Edward continued his preparations for the war in Brittany, and seems now to have more seriously contemplated the necessity of going in person. On the 20th of May, he wrote to the Sheriffs of all the counties, except York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, ordering them to proclaim publicly through their bailiwicks, that "all men-at-arms, armed men, and archers who wish to go with us to our wars, are to provide themselves with proper arms and other necessaries by the 24th of June, so as to be ready to go with us."[1] On the 20th of June he wrote to the mayors and bailiffs of thirty-nine ports,[2]

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1195.

[2] The ports were:—

Bristol	Maidstone	Romenhale
Chalk	Mousehole	Rye
Clive	Mount St. Michael	Seaford
Dartmouth	in periculo maris	Shoreham
Dovor	Newport in the Isle	Sidmouth
Exmouth	of Wight	St. Helen of the Isle
Falmouth	Newehithe	of Wight
Faversham	Pevensey	Stroud
Greenhithe	Plymouth	Southampton
Greenwich	Polruan	Tynemouth
Hastings	Poole	Wareham
Hythe	Portsmouth	Winchelsey
London	Roff' (Rochester)	Yarmouth
Loo	Romney	

It may be observed here that certain ports of England, such as the Cinque Ports, were held of the king on the tenure of supplying ships in time of war. These ports were originally the king's demesnes. The extension of the demand for ships, to other

A.D. 1342. many of which, such as Pevensey, have long ceased to exist, ordering them to provide ships for the passage of William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, to Brittany with his troops.

Rate of payments to soldiers at this period.

The following details relative to the King's Military arrangements, and the pay of the soldiers, illustrates the system pursued, and the manners of the times. On June 25th he ordered payment to be made to one Ralph Stafford, who had volunteered to go to the war with fifty men.[1] Of these men furnished by Ralph, there were to be two knights-bannerets, who were each to receive 4*s.* a day, sixteen knights at 2*s.* a day, thirty-one esquires at 1*s.* a day, and fifty bowmen on horseback at 6*d.* a day. No payment was assigned to Ralph; but, from a comparison with other payments to Earls, it is probable he received 8*s.* a day. The total cost of Ralph and his men was estimated at 455*l.* for each quarter of the year, for the payment of which the King assigned to him fifty-seven sacks of wool, at 8*l.* the sack, to be delivered to him out of the wool the preemption of which had been granted to him. On the 3rd of July Edward arranged in the same manner with Robert of Artois for 120 men, who were to go with him to Brittany; but his bowmen, not being men holding by knight's service, were to receive only 4*d.* a day.[2] On the 13th of July he ordered 474 sacks of wool, at 6*l.*, and 87 at 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* the sack, to be delivered, out of the 1000 sacks granted, to the

Payments made by grants of wool.

maritime and sometimes to inland towns, without consent of Parliament, was often resisted as unconstitutional, and, eventually, gave rise to the resistance of Hampden in the great case of Ship money in the reign of Charles I. and provoked the civil war.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1201. [2] Ibid. p. 1202.

Earls of various counties, in payment for 888 soldiers, A.D. 1342.
of whom five were Earls at 8*s.* a day, eleven knights-bannerets at 4*s.*, 106 Knights at 3*s.*, 334 esquires at 1*s.*, and 432 bowmen on horseback at 6*d.* a day. On the same day he wrote to the Earl of Kildare and other Irish Lords, stating that, as the Earl of Northampton was about to go to Brittany and Gascony, he asked them to accompany him with 116 men-at-arms and 250 hobelers.[1] On the 20th of July, he ordered 8,970 sheaves of arrows with iron heads, and 1,600 bowstrings, and on the same day he formally appointed the Earl of Northampton his captain and lieutenant in Brittany, giving as his reason for doing so, that John of Montfort had promised to recognise him as King of France, to do homage to him as such, and to give up all his strong places to him.[2]

Robert of Artois goes to Brittany with the Earl of Northampton and the English army.

At the end of July,[3] Robert of Artois embarked for Brittany. It is not stated that the Earl of Northampton went with him, nor indeed does it appear that the Earl took any active part in the war, but it is probable that he accompanied Count Robert.

Edward becomes weary of fruitless negotiations for peace,

Soon after the departure of the forces destined for the invasion of Brittany, Edward became heartily tired of the fruitless negotiations for peace which he had undertaken at the entreaties of the Pope, but which were always frustrated by Philip's infractions of the truces which were entered into. On the 8th of August, therefore, he wrote to the Pope to say that it was useless to continue negotiations any further;[4]

and writes to the Pope to say that he is about to invade France.

and a few days afterwards, he wrote to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, reciting that at

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1203.
[2] Ibid. p. 1205.
[3] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 211.
[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1208.

A.D. 1342. the instance of the Pope he had been willing to make peace with France, but that his enemy had broken truces, and therefore he and his army were about to invade France. He consequently desired them to call their clergy together, six days after Michaelmas, to consult with deputies from the King as to raising supplies from the clergy for the war.[1] All this while, French piratical expeditions were either threatened, or made. Early in September the French landed at Portsmouth and burnt it, and then proceeded towards Southampton; but the King took means to ensure its being placed in a state of defence before their arrival.[2] At last, on October the 5th, the King set sail for Brittany, appointing his son Edward as Guardian of the kingdom in his absence.[3]

The King sets sail for Brittany on Oct. 5.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1209. [2] Ibid. p. 1210.
[3] Ibid. p. 1212.

ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Strait of Dover
Dover
Calais
Gravelines
Dunkerque
Sandgate
Winchelsea
Rye
Guines
Flanders
Boulogne
Ardres
Lille
Southampton
Arundel
Exeter
Isle of Wight
Plymouth
St Pol
Artois
Arras
Fonthieu
Vermandois
Amiens
Abbeville
Eu
Longueville
C. la Hague
Alderney
Cherbourg
Barfleur
Granville
Caen
Rouen
Gournay
Beauvais
Clermont
Valois
Guernsey
Sark
Jersey
NORMANDY
Evreux
Mantes
Beaumont
Montfort
Dreux
Perche
Chartres
Etampes
Alençon
Nemours
BRITTANY
St Malo
St Brieux
Morlaix
Dinan
Lamballe
Maine
Laval
Perche Gouet
Dunois
Orleans
Vendôme
Blois
Gien
Belle Isle
BAY OF BISCAY
Nantes
Anjou
Angers
Touraine
Tours
Loudun
Thouars
Parthenay
Mirebalais
Poitou
Poitiers
BRITTANY, NORMANDY
& NORTH WESTERN FRANCE.
English Miles

CHAPTER XII.

EDWARD'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN BRITTANY.

WHEN Edward set sail for Brittany De Montfort had been a prisoner for nearly a year; during that time various events had happened in his Duchy, of which an account must be given, before relating the history of Edward's invasion. A.D. 1342.

Events in Brittany after capture of Nantes.

It was at the beginning of the winter of 1341 that De Montfort was captured, and, as usual at that period, all warfare was suspended till spring, "at which time," says Froissart, "it is better than in winter to make war."[1] De Blois remained at Nantes, and his allies returned to Paris, taking with them their prisoner De Montfort. When spring arrived, the French troops again took the field. Louis de la Cerda, commonly called Louis of Spain,—great-grandson of Alphonso the Tenth, King of Castile and Leon, and of Blanche, daughter of Louis the Ninth of France,—was appointed Marshal of the army. Naval warfare, at that time, was carried on by soldiers, who fought on board ship instead of on shore, rather than by sailors whose whole life was passed on the sea; it is therefore not to be wondered at, that so gallant and active a commander as Louis of Spain soon afterwards took the

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 147. It is to be regretted that there is in English no single word to represent the expressive French word "guerroyer."

A.D. 1342. command of the French navy also. The Dukes of Normandy and Burgundy, the Count of Alençon, and others, accompanied De Blois, and their first exploit was the capture of Rennes, at the beginning of May, after a long siege.[1]

Capture of Rennes.

The Countess of Montfort defends Hennebon gallantly.

They then resolved to attack Hennebon, thinking that if they could take it and make the Countess and her son prisoners, they would end the war. But the Countess was not so easily to be vanquished, and she distinguished herself greatly, by the able and heroic manner, in which she defended the castle against its assailants. She not only directed the management of the defence, but herself took an active part in the fighting. Clad in armour, she rode through the streets on horseback, encouraging her troops and ordering the ladies and other women to unpave the streets, carry the stones to the ramparts, and throw them down on their enemies; and, she had pots of quicklime brought for the same purpose. On one occasion, seeing that the besiegers had left their camp unguarded, she made a sally with 300 horsemen, and set their tents on fire, but was unable to get back into the castle for several days. The siege went on vigorously, and no help came from England. The besiegers annoyed the garrison greatly, by means of a huge machine, which threw great stones into the castle, without ceasing day or night. At last, traitors within the walls, despairing of the arrival of the promised help, plotted the betrayal of the castle to Charles of Blois. At this juncture, however, the Countess, who was continually on the ramparts gazing over the vacant sea in hopes that she might descry the English, cried out, "I see them coming,"

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 149.

and it was indeed the English fleet that was seen approaching. It had been delayed by stormy weather for sixty days, but at last arrived, about the end of May, at a critical moment. Sir Walter de Maunay was on board, accompanied by Amaury de Clisson. Hennebon was built on the river Blavet near the seacoast, and the English therefore had no difficulty in entering the castle, where they were received with great joy by the Countess. She received them in halls and chambers hung with tapestry, and gave them a magnificent entertainment. But, all that night and the following day, the huge machine never ceased throwing great stones into the town. So, as Froissart quaintly says, Sir Walter de Maunay "looked and said he had a great wish to go and destroy this great engine, which was so near them and caused them so much annoyance." He accordingly went quietly out of one of the gates, with 300 archers, who soon put to flight the men working the machine, and then broke it into pieces. After this gallant exploit they returned into the town, and, adds Froissart, "whoever had then seen the Countess come down from the castle with great cheer, and kiss Master Walter de Maunay and his companions, one after the other, two or three times, might well say it was a valiant dame."[1]

A.D. 1342.

Help arrives from England.

Sir Walter de Maunay and Amaury de Clisson land.

Sir Walter de Maunay defeats the besiegers.

Louis of Spain, Marshal of the army of Charles of Blois, now gave up the siege of Hennebon, and went to join the Earl before Auray, whither Charles had some time before taken a part of the besieging army. Louis was however directed to besiege some other towns, the names of which are completely confused by

Siege of Hennebon given up.

Various towns taken by the French.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 149–153.

A.D. 1342. Froissart,[1] and the siege of Auray was carried on by De Blois. After an obstinate defence of more than six weeks from the time when the siege began, and which was prolonged till the garrison, after eating all their horses, were nearly starved, the city was taken.[2] After its fall, Vannes—another town in that district, still interesting on account of the vast Druidical remains with which the land is throughout covered—fell into the hands of De Blois. In the meantime Louis of Spain had embarked his troops, landed in Lower Brittany,[3] and marched them up to Quimperlé, ravaging the country and loading his ships with the plunder. When De Maunay and De Clisson heard where Louis had gone, and how he was overrunning the country, they embarked and followed him. The plunder taken by Louis was now retaken by De Maunay, who soon defeated him with the loss of nearly the whole of his troops, and Louis himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. He was pursued by the English by sea and on land, but at length was able to join De Blois, who had resumed the attack on Hennebon. Amaury de Clisson and Sir Walter de Maunay, however, defended it so well that the siege was again abandoned.

Auray and Vannes taken.

Hennebon again besieged, but the siege abandoned.

Robert of Artois' expedition to Brittany.

It was about this time that Robert of Artois was on his way to Brittany, the fleet having sailed towards the end of July.[4] He was accompanied by

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 154, note. [2] Ibid. p. 155.

[3] Called also Bretagne Bretonnant, Higher Brittany being called also Bretagne-Galot.—Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 156, note.

[4] On July 3rd he was "about to go" (Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1201); on July 20th the Earl of Northampton was appointed the King's lieutenant in France.

the Earls of Suffolk and Pembroke, by the Earl of Salisbury, who had lately been released from prison, and probably, as already stated, by the Earl of Northampton. According to Froissart, the Countess of Montfort had, shortly before, come to England in person, and returned with Robert; but it is very improbable that such was the case, as there does not appear to be sufficient time, between the siege of Hennebon and the departure of Robert of Artois from England, for the Countess to have made a voyage to England.[1] Robert's fleet consisted of forty ships of various sizes. A.D. 1342.

Philip, having received information of the approach of the English fleet, sent a fleet to meet them, under the command of Louis of Spain, and an engagement between the two fleets took place near Guernsey. Darkness put a stop to the fighting, and during the night a furious storm arose which separated the fleets, and drove the French, according to Froissart's highly figurative expression, "more than a hundred leagues from the place where they fought." The English then proceeded on their voyage, and landed near Vannes, to which they laid siege, and sent their fleet to Hennebon. The Countess of Montfort and Sir Walter de Maunay took part in the siege. Vannes soon fell, and the Countess and Sir Walter then returned to Hennebon. A part of the English forces, under the command of the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, and Pembroke, went to besiege Rennes; among the garrison was a man of whom mention was then first made, but who afterwards became the greatest military commander of his time

Philip sends a fleet to oppose the English on their passage; but the fleets are separated by a storm.

The English land near Vannes,

and take it.

[1] See Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 163, note 2; p. 164, note 1 (2nd column); and p. 165.

A.D. 1342. in France. This was Bertrand du Guesclin.[1] Robert of Artois remained at Vannes, and the French, taking advantage of the absence of a part of the English army, attacked and took it. Robert was badly wounded during the siege, and was obliged to return to London, where he died in the middle of November.[2]

Bertrand du Guesclin.

Vannes retaken.

Death of Robert of Artois.

In the meanwhile, Edward had been getting ready to take part in the war in person. On the 5th of October[3] he sailed from Sandwich, and landed near Vannes, which eventually became the point at which the armies drew together for a trial of strength. But it was some little time before the opposing forces thus met.

Edward lands near Vannes.

The chief towns of Brittany, were Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes. Vannes had been retaken by the French; Rennes was besieged by the Earl of Salisbury; and Nantes was occupied by Charles of Blois, who was there collecting a large force of arms. Shortly after his arrival in Brittany, Edward wrote, "to his true and faithful Monsieur Thomas de Wake Lord of Lydel," from La Rosere, stating, that he had begun fighting and hoped to do such deeds as would redound to his own honour and that of England, if he were speedily supplied with men-at-arms and bowmen.[4] He then laid siege to Vannes; but, finding it to be very strong, left part of his forces there under the com-

Edward besieges Vannes,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 176.

[2] Ibid. pp. 169, 170, and 171.

[3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1212; but see note *b* in Nicolas' *British Navy*, vol. ii. p. 80, which renders it doubtful whether it was not after the 15th of October that Edward set sail. Knighton (col. 2582) states that Edward sailed from Portsmouth and landed at Brest, but this is evidently incorrect.

[4] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1213.

mand of the Earl of Warwick, Walter de Maunay and others, to mask it, and proceeded to Rennes, with about 1,500 men-at-arms and 6,000 bowmen. When, however, he had been five days before Rennes, he heard that Charles of Blois was at Nantes, and so, leaving his friend, the Earl of Salisbury, to continue the siege of Rennes, Edward marched off to measure his strength with his chief opponent at Nantes. Edward tried to tempt Charles of Blois to come out of the city to fight with him, but, failing in this, endeavoured to take the city by assault. He did not succeed, and therefore, leaving a portion of his forces to continue the siege, wandered about, ravaging the country, and, after a time, returned to Vannes.

A.D. 1342.

but leaves it and goes to Rennes,

and then to Nantes,

which he besieges;

but soon gives up the siege and returns to Vannes.

In the meanwhile John of Normandy, Philip's eldest son, was assembling an army at Angers; when ready, he marched to Nantes to reinforce the Count of Blois. On reaching Nantes, however, he found that Edward had left it, and had gone to assist in the siege of Vannes, and therefore hastened off to protect it. Edward then withdrew his troops from Rennes, and gathered them all together before Vannes, which thus at last became the probable battle-field between the two contending parties. But after all, nothing came of all these preparations for a decisive struggle. The two armies faced each other all the winter without any serious fighting. The French were four times as numerous as the English, and the Duke of Normandy tried therefore to besiege the English in their camp, and cut off their supplies, for the coast was so well guarded by Louis of Spain that Edward could receive nothing by sea. But the English were so placed that this could not be done effectually, and the Duke

The English and French forces are at last gathered together before Vannes.

Distress of both armies during the winter.

A.D. 1342. of Normandy himself found it difficult to supply his own army. The weather was especially inclement; rain and snow deluged the camps, the horses died, and the soldiers became discontented.[1]

A.D. 1343. At last, on January 19th, A.D. 1343, at the intercession of the Pope, a truce was agreed on at Malestroit, not, however, without a vigorous protest on the part of Edward, that he submitted his quarrel to the Pope, as a private person and not as a judge. So jealous was the King of any interference on the part of the Pope in the affairs of England, that he repeated this protest twice (on the 20th of May and the 29th of August [2]), during the negotiations which ensued, for the conversion of the truce into a peace. The truce was to last till Michaelmas, and thence to be continued for three years; the Scots, the Flemings, the Hainaulters, and the two rivals to the Duchy, were to be included in it; De Montfort was to be set free; and it was also agreed that, if hostilities broke out between De Montfort and De Blois, it should not be considered a breach of the arrangement, unless one or other of the Kings took part in their quarrel.[3]

A truce agreed on.

The truce unexpected by the English.

The truce was evidently unexpected by the English, and by the king's son the Duke of Cornwall, who had been left guardian of the kingdom during his father's absence, for the young Duke continued to make active preparations for war, up to and even after the time of its being signed.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 171–177. See also Edward's letter to his son, Avesbury, p. 98.

[2] Rymer, vol. ii. pp. 1224 and 1231. See also Rot. Parl. 17 Ed. III. (8).

[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 177, note; and Avesbury, p. 102.

On the 20th of December,[1] the King himself, by his great seal, had ordered 506 men-at-arms and 606 bowmen to be sent to Brittany immediately; and on January 3rd the Guardian ordered 5132 lances and archers to be raised in North and South Wales, part of whom were, as on a former occasion, especially directed to be clothed in uniform, and 3000 of the number were to sail for Brittany on the 1st of March at latest.[2] On the 26th of the same month (after the truce was signed, but before news of it could reach England) seven persons were directed each to furnish 51 men-at-arms to go with the others, and ships were got ready to convey them.[3] On the 1st of February the Guardian wrote to the Sheriff of Lincoln, and all the Sheriffs south of the Trent, saying that all men-at-arms who wished to take part in the war were to be ready to sail from Portsmouth by the 1st of March.[4] At last however the news of the truce arrived; on the 6th of February[5] the Duke countermanded the orders to the fleet; and, on the 20th, the King wrote to the Sheriff of London, the Bishop of Durham, the Justice of Chester, and others, to inform them of the temporary cessation of arms.[6]

A.D. 1343.

and consequent preparations for continuing the war.

News of the truce reaches England, and warlike preparations countermanded.

Edward then embarked for England, and after a stormy passage, during which he was driven to the coast of Spain, landed at Weymouth on the 2nd of March.[7] Thus ended a third campaign, which pro-

Edward returns to England on March 2.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1216. [2] Ibid. p. 1217.
[3] Ibid. p. 1218. [4] Ibid. p. 1219. [5] Ibid. p. 1219.
[6] 'Le Roy as viscountz de Londres, salutz, &c. En mesme le manere a touz les viscontes d'Engleterre, c'est assavoir, al evesque de Duresme, al justice de Cestre, al gardein de Cinque Portz, al justice d' Irland, al justice de Suthgales, al justice de Northgales.' —Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1219.
[7] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1220, and Avesbury, p. 109.

A.D. 1343. duced no advantage whatever to England, shed no glory on her arms, and only increased the load of debt consequently incurred by Edward. It must however be admitted, that the campaign was equally barren of valuable results to the King of France.

CHAPTER XIII.

PARLIAMENT DECIDES ON PEACE, OR WAR IN EARNEST. THE CONSEQUENT PREPARATIONS MADE FOR WAR, UNTIL EDWARD'S GREAT INVASION OF FRANCE.

A.D. 1343.

Parliament meets to consider the truce. The King's son created Prince of Wales.

SOON after the King had returned from Brittany, a Parliament was held in the Palace of Westminster to consider of the truce that had been made, and of the propriety of converting it into a peace. During its sitting, the King's son Edward was created Prince of Wales.

Constitution of Parliament.

The Bishops, Prelates, and Barons sat in the "White Chamber," afterwards called the Court of Requests;[1] and the Knights of the Shires and the Commons, as the representatives of the cities and boroughs were then termed,[2] in the Painted Chamber. Though frequent mention is made, in former Parliament rolls, of the four orders of Parliament, viz.: Prelates, Barons, Knights of the Shires, and Citizens or Burgesses, consulting apart by themselves, yet this is the first time that a clear distinction is made of the two houses as formed at present, and that the Knights of Shires are mentioned as sitting in the same chamber as the representatives of boroughs, separately from the "Great Men."[3] It is not how-

First distinction of the two houses.

[1] Tyrell's *England*, vol. iii. p. 471.

[2] May's *Parliamentary Practice*, 8vo. 3rd ed. p. 22.

[3] Rot. Parl. 17 Ed. III. (8). In the Parliament held in the

A.D. 1343. ever to be inferred, that, thenceforward, they always formed two distinct bodies, for such is not the case. The days on which the King himself was present, were called Parliament days. At this time, there were about 250 members of the House of Commons, and all were maintained at the expense of the places they represented. Thus, four shillings a day was allowed to a knight of the shire, and two shillings to a citizen or burgess.[1]

Parliament recommends peace if possible, but promises support in case of war.

On the 1st of May, the two houses separately delivered their opinion to the King in person, in the White Chamber, approving of the truce, and advising a peace, if to be had on proper terms; but if not, promising to support him in maintaining his quarrel.

It was provided by the agreement relative to the truce, that Commissioners from both parties should appear before the Pope to settle the conditions of peace. Edward frequently communicated with the Pope on the subject; but, it is necessary to bear in mind, that he never recognised him as having any inherent right to dictate, and always directed in express terms that he should be treated as a private person and common friend, and not as a judge.

Edward sends Commissioners to the Pope relative to the peace.

Edward's resistance to Papal aggression.

Parliament was very jealous of the Pope's interference, for he was continually making aggressions, on the King's rights and authority, and on the rights of private persons in England. These aggressions had reference, chiefly, to what were called "provisions" to ecclesiastical benefices. The Pope constantly appointed—or provided—persons to fill vacant livings or other ecclesiastical offices, in defiance of

following year, all sat in the White Chamber. Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 148 (8).

[1] May's *Parliamentary Practice*, p. 25.

the right of the King, or of the patrons of such livings, so to do; he attempted also, to dispose of the temporalities, that is, the revenues, as well as the spiritualities, of the benefices. Parliament always resisted these encroachments, and it is important to observe that thus, before, and in apparent anticipation of, the Reformation, the nation, as represented by King and Parliament, would not submit to the Pope's attempted usurpations of temporal power; and, that the dignitaries of the English Church concurred in opposing his aggressions.[1] The Commons petitioned the King against these grievances, in the Parliament at this time assembled;[2] this resistance to the Pope, was one of the great features of the reign. King Edward consequently wrote to the Pope on the 10th of September (and indeed at various other times), to complain of his appointing "foreigners, most of them suspicious persons, who do not reside on their benefices, who do not know the faces of the flocks entrusted to them, who do not understand their language, but, neglecting the cure of souls, seek, as hirelings, only their temporal lucre;" he went on to say, that the Pope, "as a successor of the Apostles, was appointed to feed and not to shear the Lord's sheep;" and concluded, by entreating the Pope to put an end to such scandals.[3]

A.D. 1343.

Resistance to the Pope.

The King had written to the Pope previously, on the 30th of August, to complain of the "immense army of provisors," who were persons encouraged by the Pope

Resistance to "provisors."

[1] "The notion that the bishops at this period sided with the Pope can only have suggested itself to minds ignorant of the state of feeling in England in the fourteenth century." Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iv. p. 72 (note).

[2] Rot. Parl. 17 Ed. III. [3] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1233.

A.D. 1343. to sue in the Court of Rome for a "provision," that is, an appointment to a vacant living in defiance of the right of its patron; stating that, "reflecting and grieving over the injury and intolerable hurt to the kingdom which had arisen from these provisions," the Parliament had declared that "they neither could nor would tolerate such things any longer."[1] He had found it necessary to forbid any person to bring the Pope's Bulls into England, as they contained his secret orders to the clergy; and, on the 30th of July, repeated a former order, that all persons coming into England should be searched, and, if Bulls were found on them, taken into custody. It was not long, however, before the King had to issue a mandate, dated January 30th, A.D. 1344, to the Sheriffs of all the counties, the Constable of Dovor and the Cinque Ports, to the Prince of Wales (probably in his capacity of Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester), and to the Bishop of Durham, relative to these matters. It recited that the Church of England was founded in ancient times, and certain landed and other possessions granted for its support; but, that the Pope had endeavoured to appropriate to himself the rights of presentation to the various livings and ecclesiastical offices, as if he himself were the patron; and, in conclusion, again forbade any persons to bring into England, Bulls or documents from the Pope making such appointments.[2] It became necessary, however, to state on the 5th of April, that it was not the King's intention to apply these orders to bishops.[3] This dispute about provisors was continued throughout the reign; and, as will be related, important Statutes were passed to prevent the Pope's

Introduction of Pope's Bulls prohibited.

Edward's defence of the Church of England.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1232. [2] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 2.
[3] Ibid. p. 11.

aggressions; but it did not come to an end till the reign of Henry the Eighth. Notice, however, must be continually taken, of the strenuous opposition, at this time offered by the English nation, to the Pope's usurpations; especially, as it was in this reign that the seeds were sown of that Great Reformation, which was not completed until two centuries had passed away. A.D. 1343.

No progress was made in converting the truce into a peace, but, on the 29th of November, Edward wrote to the Pope agreeing to its prolongation for a year; although he felt it necessary at the same time to complain that the truce was not observed by the French, especially in Brittany;[1] and indeed, on the 24th of the following month, he ordered ships to be got ready to take soldiers to that province. Philip had kept up petty hostilities there, after the truce was signed, and had excited especial indignation by his execution of Olivier de Clisson, whom he looked on as a traitor.[2] Edward however took no notice of this, but, on the contrary, continually issued orders to his own subjects for the strict observance of the truce.[3] It was clear that Philip had no serious intention of making a permanent peace, or of abandoning his project of uniting the whole of France under his own royal dominion, and it is also certain that Edward had no intention of giving up Guienne. Failure of negotiations for peace with France.

It is very doubtful whether Edward's real object, in his repeated invasions of France, was to obtain the throne, or simply to secure peaceable and undisputed Edward's objects in his repeated invasions of France.

[1] Rymer, vol. ii. p. 1239.

[2] See Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 178 (note 2) for the grounds on which the charge of treason is founded.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 10 and 19.

A.D. 1343. possession of Guienne—setting up his claim, perhaps by way of menace, with a view to the latter aim. Had it been the former, it is extraordinary that he did not march on Paris, and demand coronation as King of France after the battle of Crécy, when France lay at his feet, and her sovereign and his son were prisoners in his hands. But, be this as it may, Edward did not cease to claim the throne, or to call himself King of France; and when his ambassadors went to France to discuss, in the presence of the Pope, the conditions on which the truce should be converted into a peace, they insisted that the first subject of debate should be Edward's right to the French throne. But Philip declared that Edward should never hold a foot of land in France, except as a vassal, and the attempt to establish a permanent peace fell therefore to the ground.[1]

Edward puts forward his claims to the throne of France.

A.D. 1344. Edward remained in England during the whole of the year 1344, attending to the defence of the kingdom, preparing for war, negotiating for peace, and attending to various domestic concerns. On the 1st of January, he proclaimed a great tournament, or Round Table as it was called, in memory of King Arthur, to be held at Windsor, to which he invited knights from various foreign countries. None came from France; for Philip, fearing that Edward would attach them to himself as friends, forbade his subjects from attending, and set up a Round Table of his own at Paris. Shortly after this tournament, Edward gave orders for the making of "a house called a Round Table"[2] at Windsor, which was to be 200 feet in diameter, in which the knights

Domestic events.

Tournament at Windsor.

The Round Table at Windsor.

[1] Carte, vol. ii. p. 452 (quoting Cleopatra, E. ii., in Bib. Cotton.).

[2] This was the present Round Tower of Windsor. See Appendix at the end of this Volume.

ROUND TABLE.

From a miniature of the Fourteenth Century (Bib. Imp. de Paris). Les Arts du Moyen-Age. Par Paul La Croix (Bibliophile Jacob).

attending tournaments were to dine.[1] For this building, on the 26th of February, he appointed one William de Horle as his carpenter, and gave him leave to choose as many carpenters, in towns, boroughs, and other places, as he might require. On the same day, he appointed one William de Ramseye his head bricklayer, with the singular permission to press working bricklayers in the city of London and in the counties of Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedford, and Northampton into his service. Two days afterwards, he appointed William de Langley to provide carriages, for the conveyance of stone and other materials for the works.[2] A.D.1344.

Parliament assembled on the 7th of June, and Edward informed it, that Philip had broken the truce in Brittany; had sent troops into Guienne, where they had taken possession of various castles and towns; that the Scots had declared that they would break the truce whenever the French desired them to do so; that he had heard for certain that it was the intention of his "adversary who called himself the King of France," to destroy the English language, and to

Parliament assembles, and agrees to renewal of war if necessary.

[1] Rex Edwardus fecit convocari plures artifices at castrum de Wyndespores, et cœpit ædificare domum, quæ "Rotunda Tabula" vocaretur: habuit autem ejus area a centro ad circumferentiam, per semidiametrum, centum pedes; et sic diametri ducentorum pedum erat. Expensæ per hebdomedam erant primo centuu libræ; sed ex post, proper nova quæ Rex suscepit de Franciâ resecabantur ad novem libras, eo quod censuit pro aliis negotiis thesaurum plurimum comportandum."—Walsingham, edited by H. T. Riley, M.A., vol. i. p. 263. A "Round Table," however, often, and perhaps usually, signified an actual table, round which the King and his Knights sat. See the illustration of a "Round Table" taken from a miniature of the 14th century. Copied, by permission, from Les Arts du Moyen Âge. Par Paul Lacroix: Paris, Didot, 1869.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 6.

A.D. 1344. occupy the land of England; and that, consequently, it was clear that Philip was determined on war. In answer to this formidable charge against Philip, Parliament advised the King to put an end to this state of constantly impending warfare, either by a firm peace, or by battle. Supplies were then voted by the clergy and by the Commons; but no grant was made by the nobles, probably because they promised either to accompany the King, according to their tenure as the King's tenants *in capite* by Knight's service, or, to tax their demesnes separately, as they had done before, it being part of his undertaking with Parliament that he should invade France in person.[1] The Commons thought it necessary to make various conditions respecting their grant, one of which was, that the money should be expended for the purposes for which it was asked.

Edward's preparations for war.

Edward had assumed that a warlike policy would be supported by Parliament, and, from the beginning of the year, had been making preparations for war. On the 6th of February, he had taken measures to ascertain how many ships he could collect, by summoning, according to his custom, men from each of forty-four ports[2] to inform him on the subject. He

[1] Rot. Parl. 18 Ed. III. 8–10, p. 148, and 14, p. 150.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 4. The ports to which he wrote, in addition to those to which he wrote two years previously, of which a list has been given, were—

Barnstaple	Dunwich	on-Hull	Ravenescre
Blakeneye (an ancient sea-port in Norfolk)	Exmouth	Lynn	Ravenesrode
	Exeter	Lyme	Sandwich
	Gosport	Maldon	Scarborough
	Grimsby	Melcombe	Seaford
Boston	Harwich	Newcastle-	Southampton
Cirencester	Ipswich	on-Tyne	Waynflete
Colchester	Kyngston-	Orford	Weymouth

See note on p. 205.

continually gave orders, that no knight or armed man should go out of England without leave; and, with the view of keeping coin in the country, had repeated his proclamation against the export of sterling money or plate.[1] He seems about this time to have been less pressed for money, for, on the 10th of March, he appointed certain persons to go abroad to take out of pawn the great crown from certain merchants of Germany, to whom it had been pledged. They accomplished their mission, and returned with the crown on the 24th of April.[2] On the 24th of March he gave orders to the Earls of Derby and Arundel, commanding in Brittany, to observe the truce strictly;[3] but, on the very same day, he directed them to make alliances with the nobles, and with any others of any nation or condition whatsoever.[4] He also still continued his arrangements for putting the navy in proper condition, and at the same time that he enjoined the observance of the truce, ordered all ships, above thirty tons burthen, throughout the ports of England, to be impressed for the defence of the country.[5] Soon afterwards,[6] Parliament having advised him to make war in earnest, he issued orders to his admirals, to get together all ships, both great or small, as well as crayers, barges, flutes,[7] and great boats, "whether of fishermen or others, which were able to carry men or horses beyond the sea;" and to assemble them in the Solent before

A.D. 1344.

Return of the King's crown from Germany.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 5.
[2] Ibid. pp. 7 and 12.
[3] Ibid. p. 10.
[4] Ibid. p. 8.
[5] Ibid. p. 11.
[6] Ibid. p. 15.
[7] Sir Harris Nicolas (Brit. Navy, vol. ii. p. 162, note) states that there is much difficulty in ascertaining what kind of vessel a flute was, but he considers it was a very large vessel, and probably had two masts, two sails, and two rudders, one at each end.

A.D. 1344. the 8th of September, in order that they might go abroad with him. Then, on the 30th of June, he required all persons having forty acres of land to take up the military order of knighthood;[1] and on the following day he ordered 15,530 hurdles[2] and 210 bridges (probably pontoons for the crossing of rivers and ditches) for the expedition to France. On the 10th of July, he wrote to "request" the Earl of Desmond and other Irish lords to send him 170 men-at-arms and 450 hobelers, or light cavalry mounted on ponies so called, to Portsmouth, and informed them that he had provided ships at his own cost to carry them to France.[3]

Negotiations for peace.

But while he was thus actively preparing for war, in accordance probably with the recommendations of Parliament, he wrote to the Pope and sent ambassadors to him to treat for peace. On the following day, however, he thought it necessary to issue a proclamation, calling himself King of France and England, and Lord of Ireland, recapitulating his cause of quarrel with Philip, and stating that he had sent ambassadors to the Pope to treat for peace with Philip, but that he had communicated with him as a private person, and not as a judge.[4]

Attempts to secure the alliance of the Duke of Brabant.

These negotiations came to nothing, and were probably set on foot by Edward, in order to leave Philip without excuse, and without any expectation of success; for his preparations for war, and his cultivation of foreign alliances, went on continually and simultaneously. He was especially desirous of attaching the Duke of Brabant firmly to his side, and endeavoured to bring about a marriage between his son the Prince

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 16.
[2] "Claias pro eskippamento equorum nostrorum."
[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 17. [4] Ibid. pp. 18, 19.

of Wales and the Duke's daughter. But, as they were related, it was necessary to obtain the Pope's consent, and he therefore wrote to him on the 26th of October, and again on the 23rd of February following, dating this letter "in the sixth year of our reign over France." On the 12th of April he made another and most urgent application, quaintly quoting the text, "Knock and it shall be opened unto you." But the marriage never took place; either, because the Pope, out of fear of offending France, refused to grant the required dispensation; or, because the Duke opposed it on account of his preference for friendly relations with the Count of Flanders rather than with Edward, and because he wished his daughter to marry the Count's son.[1] A.D. 1344.

An attempt seems to have been made about this time to detach the inhabitants of Bruges, Ypres, and Ghent from their alliance with England; for, on February 20th, 1345, Edward wrote to them, to assert the genuineness of certain letters, which he had previously written to them, desiring that they should not treat with their Count without his consent, as it would be contrary to his treaty with France. It seems strange, however, how such a condition could have formed part of that treaty. It appears also that Edward himself was in treaty with the Count of Flanders; for, on the same day, he wrote to the Flemings to assert the genuineness of certain other letters, which he had previously written, directing that, if the Count wished to go to Flanders with the Countess and his son, or even to come to England, they were to receive him honourably.[2] A.D. 1345. Attempts to detach the Flemings from their English alliance.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 263; and Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 25, 32.
[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 30.

A.D. 1345.

The Pope in vain attempts to prevent renewal of the war.

The beginning of 1345 was occupied, like the greater part of the former year, with fruitless negotiations for peace, and active preparations for war.[1] The Pope mingled his exhortations to peace with persistent attempts to maintain his pretended right of interference with the temporalities of the English Church, and, in February, sent over two Cardinals to treat with Edward on the subject. The King listened, but would not consent to their proposals, and in less than a fortnight they returned from their fruitless mission.[2] Edward continued his preparations for war, forbidding the export of horses above the value of 60*s.* unless for private use,[3] and ordering the fleet to assemble at Sandwich by the 5th of May.[4] The Pope now became alarmed at the approach of war, and on the 15th of April he wrote to Edward to say what a blessed thing it would be to have peace, and attack the Pagans;[5] but the King was not to be diverted from his purpose by such arguments, and went on with his preparations.

Request of Gascony for English soldiers.

Edward had ample reasons for disbelieving that Philip had any honest wish for peace. At the tournament held at Windsor the year before, various Gascon lords had come over, and, on their own behalf, as well as on that of various others who remained at home but were favourable to Edward, had begged him to send them soldiers, commanded by a captain capable of defending the country against the French. They told him that "his good country of Gascony and his good friends and his good city of Bordeaux were badly comforted and supported."[6] In conse-

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 28.
[2] Ibid. p. 31.
[3] Ibid. p. 30.
[4] Ibid. p. 33.
[5] Ibid. p. 34.
[6] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 182.

quence of these representations, Edward, early in April, appointed the Earl of Derby as his commander in Gascony; and, shortly afterwards, issued letters of protection to various barons going there.[1] It is remarkable that the King should have delayed for more than a year to act on the advice of his Gascon friends; but, judging by the scale on which the next campaign was conducted, the determination with which it was carried on, and its magnificently successful results, his conduct may be explained, by the supposition, that he had resolved, that his next attack on France should be of a formidable character, and therefore waited till he was well prepared.[2] Simultaneously with these arrangements for the defence of Gascony, Edward prepared to attack France in Brittany. He gave the Earl of Northampton power to defy Philip, and, after taking this preliminary step, to commence the war in that country.[3] A.D. 1345.

Edward orders Lord Northampton to defy Philip.

In the meantime, De Montfort had escaped from his prison in the Louvre in the disguise of a merchant,[4] and had fled to England. On the 20th of May he did homage for Brittany to Edward, as King of France, and shortly afterwards returned to his Duchy.[5]

De Montfort escapes from prison, and does homage to Edward for Brittany.

Preparations for war were now hurried on, with even greater activity than before. Within a week of the time that De Montfort did homage to Edward, the King wrote to the Pope, to say that Philip was continually

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 34, 36.

[2] Froissart (vol. i. p. 182) would lead one to suppose that Edward sent Derby to Gascony immediately after the tournament, "Assez tôt après ordonna le dit roi, &c.," but it is evident from the document in Rymer that this was not the case.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 36, 37.

[4] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 249.

[5] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 39.

A.D. 1345. breaking truces, and that he must therefore excuse him if he sought redress by force of arms.[1] Then, on the 4th of June he wrote to the mayor and sheriffs of London, ordering them to proclaim that all persons who were going with the Earl of Northampton to Brittany should proceed to Portsmouth without delay;[2] and on the 11th of the same month he again wrote to the sheriffs to say that Lord Northampton had sailed, that the Earl of Derby[3] was just about to set out for Gascony, and that all who were going with him should at once make their way to Southampton.[4]

Lord Northampton embarks for Brittany,

and the Earl of Derby for Gascony.

Edward had now provided for the invasion of France in two important districts: in Brittany, where he had trustworthy friends in De Montfort and his party; and in Gascony, where he still held possession of many fortified places. Before he took the field in person however, he thought it prudent to ascertain whether he could depend on the fidelity of the Flemings; he therefore crossed the channel to confer with Van Artevelde and the burgomasters of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges. On the 3rd of July he embarked from Sandwich with his son the Prince of Wales, having created his son Lionel guardian of the kingdom in his absence, and gone through the usual ceremony of receiving from the Chancellor, Robert of Sadyngton, the third layman appointed to this

Edward goes to Flanders to try its fidelity, before going in person to the war.

He embarks on July 3.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 41. [2] Ibid. p. 42.

[3] In order to avoid confusion, I have designated the Earl of Derby by that title until his advance to relieve Aiguillon. Some historians have styled him the Earl of Lancaster at this time, but the exact date of his becoming Earl of Lancaster is uncertain. He took that title on the death of his father, Henry Earl of Lancaster. That event took place in A.D. 1345, but in what month is not stated.—See Sandford's *Genealogical History of England*, p. 112. [4] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 44.

office by Edward, the great seal which he kept in his custody for the government of England,[1] and delivering to him another to be used during his absence. This ceremony took place in the Great Hall of Westminster, where the Court of Chancery now "usually" sat.[2] The custom of following the King wherever he went had been done away with by Edward the Third;[3] one great step, towards the formation of the England of the present day, was thus taken. There is something impressive in the idea of the King being, not only the fountain of all justice, but also its dispenser, and his presence being necessary for that function; but the constant migration of the King, with all his courts and his judges, entailed great expense on the places where his courts were held, and it cannot be doubted, that the fixing the Court of Chancery in a particular locality, was a wise measure, and convenient to the whole community.

A.D. 1345.

Establishment of the Court of Chancery in London.

On Edward's arrival at Sluys, he was received by Van Artevelde, who for nine years had been at the head of the government of Flanders. He had ruled the country with great skill and wisdom, but, when Edward came, was in a difficult position. A quarrel had broken out between the large and small towns. The manufacturers of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges, wished to monopolise the making of broad cloths,

Edward received, on landing, by Van Artevelde.

Quarrel between large and small towns of Flanders,

[1] Pro regimine regni Angliæ; Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 50.

[2] "Ubi Cancellarius *communiter* sedet."—Rymer, vol. iii. p. 53.

[3] "But the two Courts were now by the King's command fixed in the places where, unless on a few extraordinary occasions, they continued to be held down to our own times—at the upper end of Westminster Hall, the King's Bench on the left hand, and the Chancery on the right, both remaining open to the Hall, and a bar being erected to keep off the multitude from pressing on the Judges."—Campbell's *Chancellors*, post 8vo. vol. i. p. 188.

A.D. 1345. which were the principal source of their riches, and to allow the small towns to weave narrow cloths only. The weavers wished, at the same time, to reduce the wages of the fullers, and there had been a great battle at Ghent on the 2nd of May[1] between these two bodies, in which 500 artisans were killed. Van Artevelde opposed the monopoly of the weavers of those great towns, and thereby incurred the enmity of Gerard Denys, who was their leader. He did not wish, however, to throw himself into the hands of the other party, for they were ready to submit themselves entirely to the Count, and indeed the inhabitants of Dendermonde had received him into their town.

and difficulty of Artevelde's position.

Such was the state of affairs in Flanders when Edward arrived at Sluys. He received the burgomasters of the three great towns on board his ship "Katharine, which was so large and so broad that it was a wonder to look at;"[2] and endeavoured to persuade them to depose their Count, offering them the Prince of Wales as their chief, whom he proposed to call the Duke of Flanders. Van Artevelde entered heartily into the project, of which indeed he was probably the author; but the burgomasters were afraid of taking so decided a step, and were jealous of Van Artevelde, and therefore said they must consult the whole community on the matter, and would give Edward an answer in a month. Before returning to Ghent, Van Artevelde remained some time at Ypres and Bruges, endeavouring to bring the citizens over to his project; but, in the meantime, his enemy, Gerard Denys, encouraged, probably by the Duke of

Edward proposes to create his son Duke of Flanders, and Van Artevelde supports the proposal.

Van Artevelde's enemies plot against him;

[1] Voisin's *Examen*, p. 10.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 204.

Brabant, who, as already stated, wished to bring about a marriage between his daughter and Count Louis' son, excited the people of Ghent against him. When Van Artevelde, therefore, returned to Ghent, the people, with characteristic ingratitude, rose and murdered him, Denys himself dealing the fatal blow. Thus ended the life of a man maligned and misrepresented by his enemies, his rivals and their friends and flatterers, and who, even to the present day, has not had justice done him by English historians. He was assuredly one of the great men of the century, and who accomplished much and attempted more to promote the welfare and progress of his country.

A.D. 1345.

and murder him.

Character of Van Artevelde.

On the death of Van Artevelde, Edward felt it was useless to remain longer in Flanders, and therefore immediately embarked for England, where he landed on the 26th of July.[1] From his own account of the expedition, in which he, singularly, makes no allusion to Van Artevelde's death, he succeeded in establishing his friendship with the Flemings, "so that they were never firmer in fidelity to us."[2] The inhabitants of the principal cities of Flanders were evidently most anxious to preserve a friendship with Edward; those of Bruges, Ypres, and various other towns, sent a deputation to England, to appease his anger at Van Artevelde's death, to assure him that they had nothing to do with it, that they regretted him much, and that they knew that he "had governed Flanders nobly and wisely."[3] Shortly after these events, however, Edward's interests in Flanders were greatly damaged by the secession from

Edward returns to England.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 53. [2] Ibid. p. 55.
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 206.

A.D. 1345. his alliance, and adherence to that of France, of John of Hainault, Lord of Beaumont, on the occasion of the death of his nephew William the Second, Count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, whose sister was married to Edward.[1]

Death of William of Hainault, and his uncle's desertion to the French.

When the King came home from Flanders he wrote, as already related, to the Sheriffs of the various counties, giving them an account of his expedition, and stating that his return had been delayed by a great storm. He then went on to say that, having agreed with his prelates, knights and other nobles, and other persons, that he should, as quickly as possible, make an end of the war, he ordered all barons, bannerets, soldiers, and persons capable of bearing arms between the ages of sixteen and twenty, to prepare without delay to go to Gascony and Brittany. Ships to convey the troops were to be got ready by the 9th of October; criminals were pardoned on condition of serving in the war, and were ordered to be at Portsmouth by the same date, under the penalty of their pardons being recalled;[2] and the Prince of Wales was directed to gather together 2,000 men from North and 2,000 from South Wales, half of whom were to be lances and half bowmen, who were to assemble at the same place.[3] It is evident, that Edward now intended to make war in earnest; but it is singular, that he seems, at this time, to have had no intention of making Normandy the point at which he should attack France.

Edward prepares actively for war,

and provides for its cost.

During these active preparations for war, Edward neglected no legitimate means of providing for its cost; on the 15th of September, he wrote to cer-

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 265, and Froissart, p. 207.
[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 57. [3] Ibid. p. 60.

tain priors, to say, that others of their order had attended his Council at Westminster on the 2nd of August, and granted him an annual tenth, in addition to their usual contribution, but that they had not come with them; he therefore summoned these priors to come to Westminster on the 9th of October, and consider what supply they would grant.[1] A.D. 1345.

But it was nearly a year before the King set out on his expedition. The Pope still tried to bring about a peace, and still interfered with the temporal power of the King in Church matters. Edward was always ready to listen to the Pope's specious proposals for peace, but was equally prepared with good arguments for rejecting them. On the 8th of November, he gave directions for the reception of ambassadors from the Pope. Three days afterwards, he wrote to him to say that he perceived he wished to throw on him the responsibility of the rupture of the truce, but that nevertheless after he had heard what his ambassador, the Archbishop of Ravenna, had to say, he would write to him and show him that he was blameless.[2] The Pope's efforts to preserve peace, and to grasp power in England.

The spring of A.D. 1346 was spent in continued preparations for war. The expedition was to have sailed early in March; but, on the 5th, King Edward issued a proclamation, stating that, on account of "horrid tempests" it was postponed till the 1st of May.[3] All kinds of false rumours were now spread about, and it became necessary for the King to make known, that all persons guilty of such misconduct, should be punished according to law; and, in order that the people might be well informed of the cause of the war with France, and impressed with a sense of A.D. 1346. Preparations for war continue,

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 60. [2] Ibid. pp. 62, 63. [3] Ibid. p. 71.

A.D. 1346. its justice, he ordered sermons to be preached, elaborately setting forth its origin, and defending his claim to the French throne.[1]

and also preparations for the defence of England.

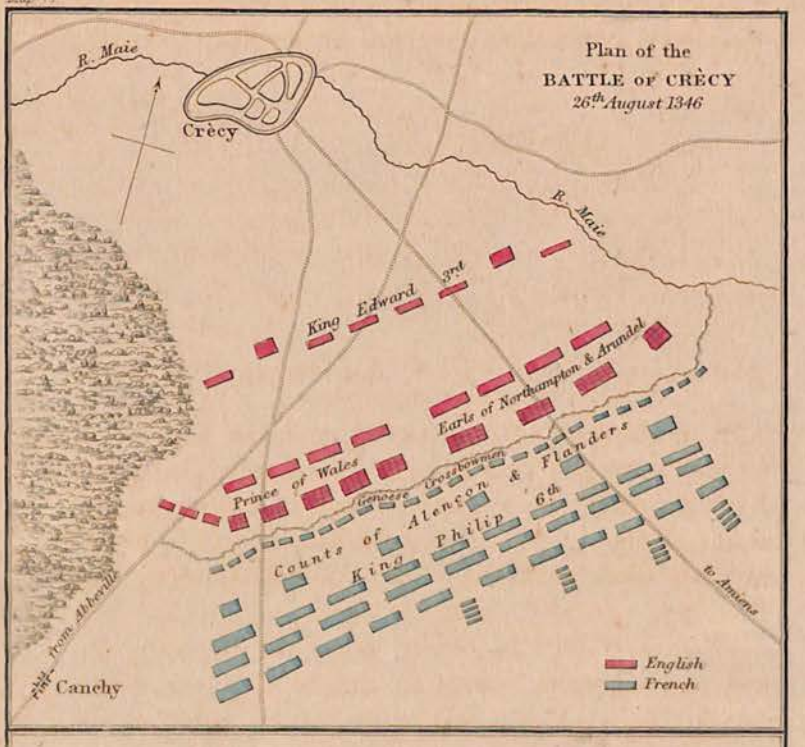
It was necessary, however, to provide not only for the invasion of France, but also against that of England. On the 15th of March, therefore, Edward ordered that, in case of invasion, beacon fires should be lit on all the hills;[2] and gave particular directions, that Essex and Hampshire should be ready to repel invaders. In order not to divest England of defenders, he ordered that persons (excepting those already enlisted) dwelling within six leagues of the sea, in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cornwall, and Sussex, should not be compelled to go to war.[3]

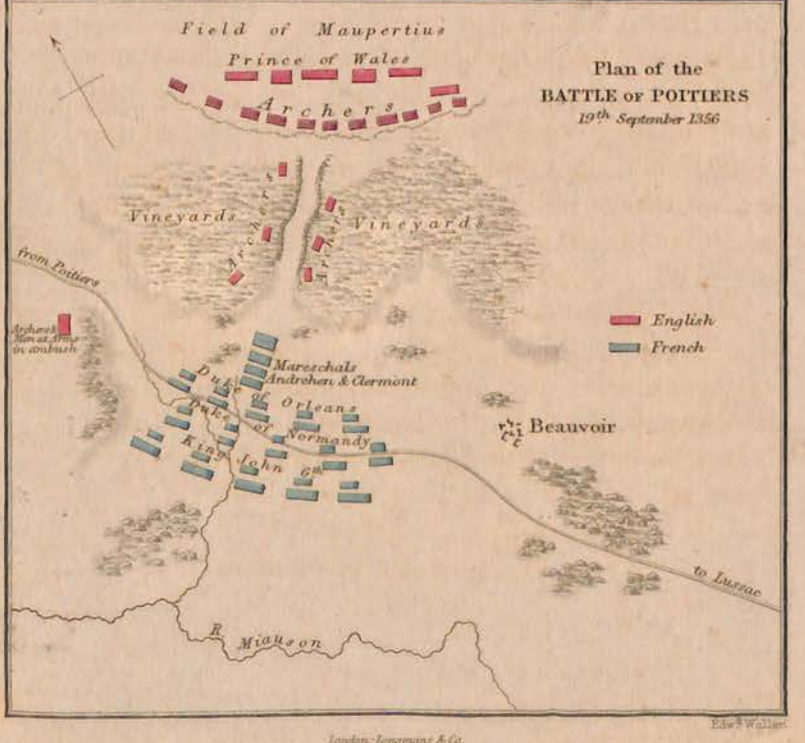
The King sails with the Prince of Wales and the troops on July 2, A.D. 1346.

At last all was in readiness: on the 25th of June, the King appointed Lionel guardian of the kingdom, and on the 2nd of July he and the Prince of Wales sailed with the troops. But their destination was neither Brittany nor Gascony, but Normandy.[4]

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 72.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. p. 81.
[4] Ibid. pp. 84, 85.

Map 4.





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CHAPTER XIV.

EDWARD'S INVASION OF FRANCE, AND THE BATTLE OF CRÉCY.

THE crushing victory of Crécy, and the capture of Calais, were the results of the campaign in which King Edward now engaged. Before giving an account of these glorious events, however, it is necessary to relate what had been doing in Gascony and Brittany. A.D. 1346.

When the Earl of Derby sailed for Gascony, his instructions were, either to defend Guienne, or to attack Perigord and Saintonge, as he might think fit. He landed at Bayonne in the middle of June 1345, with 300 knights, 600 men-at-arms and 2000 bowmen; marched to Bordeaux, where his little army was increased by forces furnished by that province;[1] and then proceeded to lay siege to Bergerac, a town situated on the river Dordogne. The defence of Perigord, the Limousin, and Saintonge, had been entrusted by Philip to the Count of Lille Jourdain,[2] who had made Bergerac his head-quarters; but the Count was utterly incapable of fulfilling the duties thus confided to him, and by the advice of Sir Walter de Maunay, Earl Derby determined to attack him. "Sire," said Sir Walter, "if we were good men-at-arms, we should this night at supper drink the wines

Earl Derby's campaign in Guienne and Gascony.

Lille Jourdain defends Perigord, the Limousin and Saintonge.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 250.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 190, note 1.

A.D. 1346. of these French lords." "Yes," said Earl Derby, "that shall not wait for me," and immediately prepared to attack the town. The garrison was taken by surprise. The English, at once taking possession of the suburbs, soon compelled the town itself to surrender, and Lille Jourdain retreated to La Reole. This took place on the 26th of August. Earl Derby then took various small towns of Perigord and Agenois in succession, and after the capture of Auberoche, Lille, and Libourne, took up his quarters at Bordeaux, leaving garrisons in the towns he had taken, and sending the Earl of Pembroke to take command at Bergerac.[1] He had not been allowed, however, to pursue his victorious career entirely without opposition, although the French had not ventured on actual fighting, and had confined their operations to putting the country in a state of defence.

Earl Derby takes Bergerac,

and other towns.

and then returns to Bordeaux.

The arming of Languedoc was entrusted by Philip to the Duke of Bourbon, who went to Cahors and Agen for that purpose in September, after the fall of Bergerac, and remained in those parts with an army of observation till the end of the year.[2] Touraine, Vienne, Haute Vienne, and Angoumois, were placed under the care of the Duke of Normandy, who visited

The Duke of Bourbon defends Languedoc.

[1] See Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 183–190; and Avesbury, p. 121. Froissart states that the Earl of Derby sailed on June 4th, 1344, but neither day nor year are correct, as it was on June 11th, 1345, that the king gave orders for the immediate assemblage of those who were to accompany him. Avesbury states that Earl Derby sailed about Michaelmas, but it is probable that about the middle of June was the actual time. Bergerac fell on August 26th, according to a French MS. Chronicle referred to by Buchon in a note to Froissart, p. 187.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 208 (note 2).

Tours, Poitiers, Limoges, and Angoulême during the months of September and October, rousing the nobility and collecting men-at-arms. Accordingly, when Philip himself went to Angoulême in September, he was able to get together a considerable army; but it was of no avail, for it never got near the English, and in December took up its winter quarters at Châtillon-sur-Indre. A.D. 1346.

Campaign of the Count de Lille Jourdain.

When the Count of Lille Jourdain became aware that the Earl of Derby had shut himself up in his cantonments at Bordeaux, he thought he might venture to attack some of the towns held by the English. So he called together the Counts of Perigord, Carmaing, Comminges, Bruniquel, and other Gascon Barons belonging to the French party, who were eager to free themselves from the disgrace of the humiliations inflicted on them by Earl Derby. They came with an army of about 11,000 men, and laid siege to Auberoche, closing it in on all sides, before the English garrison left in it by Lord Derby were aware of their intentions.[1] Four great engines, which Lille Jourdain had procured from Toulouse, threw great masses of rock into the town, and killed numbers of the garrison. The English sent off a young page to Earl Derby for help; but he was discovered, and, with that cruelty which was so singularly intermingled with the chivalrous honour of the times, was placed in one of the engines and hurled back into the town. The Earl of Derby, however, received intelligence of the state of the town, and set off from Bordeaux with the small body of soldiers at his disposal, sending word to Earl Pembroke to come from Bergerac and meet him at Libourne. Pembroke was

He besieges Auberoche.

The garrison send a messenger to Earl Derby,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 190.

A.D. 1346. unable to keep the appointment, and Derby, having only 300 lances and 600 bowmen, hesitated to attack the French with such overwhelming numbers against him. But Sir Walter de Maunay, always ready with bold counsels, advised that they should try to take the French by surprise; and so, on October 23rd, A.D. 1345,[1] advancing under cover of a wood, they fell on the French while at supper, inflicting on them so severe a defeat, that there was hardly a family among the nobles of Languedoc which did not lose some of its members by death or captivity.

who defeats the French, and relieves Auberoche.

While the Earl of Derby was advancing to the relief of Auberoche, the Duke of Normandy was only ten leagues off, but did not think it consistent with his dignity, to take part in a contest with an enemy whom he affected to despise.[2] After the capture of that city,[3] the Earl turned his arms towards the South, and took St. Baseille, Montsegur, and the strong castle of Aiguillon at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne. La Reole offered more resistance, but was at length obliged to surrender; and then, after taking Angoulême and some other towns, Derby retired into winter quarters at Bordeaux.[4] For these successes King Edward ordered thanks to be given to God in the following spring.[5]

Earl Derby's successes in the South.

He retires into winter quarters at Bordeaux.

The war in Brittany.

In Brittany, whither the Earl of Northampton had gone in June, 1345,[6] the war was carried on with less activity. De Montfort died on the 26th of September following, leaving his son to the guardianship of the king of England; and the territories he held in Brit-

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 193, note 3.
[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 256.
[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 195, note 1.
[4] Ibid. p. 203.
[5] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 81 (May 6, 1346).
[6] Ibid. p. 44.

tany to be defended by Northampton, who took Carhaix and Roche de Rien, and then retired to his winter quarters. In the spring, Northampton was recalled to England, and joined the King's expedition to Normandy, leaving Sir Thomas d'Agworth in command in Brittany.[1] A.D. 1346.

It was, as already stated, the end of June, 1346, before King Edward embarked for the invasion of France; but, early in that year, Philip had prepared for the renewal of the war. He had given orders, for the assemblage of a large army at Toulouse on the 3rd of February,[2] under the command of his son the Duke of Normandy, and of another at Orleans, of which he was to be the chief; but he altered his plans, and united both armies under the command of his son. This united army is said to have numbered about 100,000 men. The Duke began by taking Ville Franche, and then laid siege to Angoulême, which was defended by a captain called John of Norwich; but Ville Franche, being left by the Duke of Normandy without a garrison, was retaken and garrisoned by a body of men sent by the Earl of Derby, who also succeeded in reinforcing Aiguillon. The garrison placed in Ville Franche by Derby consisted of only about 120 men; but, in expectation of an attempt being made for its recovery, Derby sent the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Walter de Maunay, and others, to throw supplies into the town and increase the garrison. The siege of Angoulême lasted some time, and at last John of Norwich, seeing that it was impossible to avoid its capture, contrived by

Philip's preparations for the renewal of the war.

Angoulême besieged by the Duke of Normandy.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 258; and James's *Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 42.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 208 (note 2).

A.D. 1346. an ingenious stratagem to withdraw his troops and march with them into Aiguillon. Angoulême immediately surrendered to the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke then, about the beginning of May, laid siege to Aiguillon.[1]

Edward's departure from England.

His army.

Such was the position of the opposing forces when Edward set sail from England, accompanied by his son the young Prince of Wales. His army consisted of about 32,000 men, of whom 6,000 were Irish, 12,000 Welshmen, 4,000 men-at-arms, and 10,000 bowmen.[2] It is stated that they were conveyed in 1,100 large ships and 50 of a smaller size; but either the number of the ships must be exaggerated, or that of the soldiers understated.[3] It was Edward's first intention to go to the assistance of the Earl of Derby in Gascony, but he was persuaded by Geoffrey of Harcourt, who had done homage to Edward for his lands in Normandy on June 13th, A.D. 1345,[4] to invade France by Normandy instead; he consequently sailed for that part of France on July 11th, 1346,

He lands in Normandy,

and landed at Cape la Hogue, Saint-Vaste, on the following day.[5] His first act was to confer knighthood on his son.[6]

and finds it undefended.

The descent of Edward on Normandy was as unexpected by Philip, as it was, originally, undesigned by Edward; he consequently found the country almost undefended, and marched through it as he pleased,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 212. [2] Ibid. p. 217, note 3.

[3] Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores x. Londini, 1562. Knighton, p. 2585.

[4] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 44.

[5] See Nicolas, *Brit. Navy*, vol. ii. p. 88 (note a) for conclusive proof that Froissart's account of the king sailing for Gascony, and of his being driven back by storms is incorrect.

[6] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 90.

ravaging, pillaging, and collecting a vast amount of plunder. He divided his army into three columns, which marched only till ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, and then united to encamp together for the night. Michael Northburgh, Clerk of the Council accompanying the King, wrote an elaborate letter describing the progress of the army. He says that Edward took Barfleur on the 14th of July, Valognes on the 18th, and then, passing through Cherbourg, Montebourg, Carantan, "which town is as large as Leicester," and St. Lô, where they found "1,000 tuns of wine, and of other things great plenty," arrived on the 26th of July before Caen, the burial-place of William the Conqueror, which at that time contained 20,000 inhabitants,[1] and which "was larger than any town in England except London."[2] From Caen, Edward wrote to the Archbishop of York, giving his own account of all he had done, from which it appears that his fleet had destroyed more than one hundred sail of the enemy.[3]

A.D. 1346.

His disposition of his forces.

His arrival before Caen,

Philip had by this time become aware of Edward's landing, but he and his army were too far off to render any material help to Caen, and all he could do was to send his constable, the Count of Guines, and the Count of Tancarville, to assist in its defence. The inhabitants were eager to attack the English; but, when they saw them and heard their shouts, they fled in disorder, and the two counts, who with 25 knights had taken refuge in a gateway, were enabled to save their lives, only by the fortunate accident of their recognising a one-eyed knight, named Thomas Holland,

which he besieges,

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 278.

[2] Robert of Avesbury, Oxford, A.D. 1720, pp. 124–7.

[3] Nicolas, *Brit. Navy*, vol. ii. p. 90.

A.D. 1346. whom they had known in the wars of Granada, and to whom they surrendered themselves.[1] Edward now took possession of Caen and gave it up to pillage, his rage against the inhabitants being greatly excited, by the discovery of the treaty for the invasion of England in the year 1339, of which an account has already been given.[2] He was guilty, therefore, of the cruelty of ordering those, who had escaped from death while defending the town, to be massacred; but Geoffrey of Harcourt persuaded him to be more merciful. He said, "Dear Sire, restrain your courage a little, and be satisfied with what you have done. You have yet a long journey before you get to Calais, where you intend to go."[3]

and takes.

He is enraged at the discovery of a plan for invading England, and gives the town up to pillage.

From this remark of Harcourt[4], it seems that Edward altered his plans, when he found that the French armies were concentrated in the South, and

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 224.

[2] See ante, page 143. Avesbury (p. 130) states that this treaty was made in 1337; but Buchon (vol. i. p. 72) and Sismondi (vol. x. p. 279) state that it was made in 1339.

[3] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 225.

[4] It is obvious that the speeches reported by Froissart must, in most cases, be inventions; and even the short conversations which he relates in his history cannot be supposed to have much authority. At the time of Edward's invasion of Normandy, Froissart was only about nine years old, and his minute accounts of events and conversations at that time must rest mainly on tradition. There are many kinds of statements which one can easily imagine to be inventions, and others again which are unlikely to have been made without some foundation. Froissart's account of Harcourt's conversation with the King about going to Calais appears to be one of the latter class. His narrative from 1326 to 1348 is taken principally from the memoirs of Jean-le-Bel, Canon of St. Lambert of Liege, who accompanied John of Hainault to England; but he added to them from his own researches (Buchon's edition, vol. i., advertisement to book i. part ii.).

that the idea of seizing the important fortress of Calais then first entered into his mind. It is clear that his approach to Paris was caused only by his inability to cross the lower part of the Seine. A.D. 1346.

Edward yielded to Harcourt's advice, and remained three days at Caen; after which, he sent back his fleet, loaded with plunder, and marched towards the Seine. On his way to Louviers, he was met at Lisieux by two cardinals, who exhorted him to make peace, and offered him (on the authority, it may be assumed, of the King of France) the duchy of Aquitaine, "as his father had held it," if he would consent to do so. Edward refused, and continued his march.[1] He first took Louviers, "which was one of the towns of Normandy where they made the greatest plenty of drapery, and was large, rich, and trading." He then proceeded to Rouen, with the intention of crossing the Seine at that point, but found the bridge broken down. The French were utterly unable to offer any resistance to the English, and, becoming seriously alarmed, broke down the bridges; they thus endeavoured to prevent Edward from reaching the sea-coast, before the French armies could offer him battle. Edward, unable to cross the river at Rouen, went up its left bank, burning Pont de l'Arche, Vernon, and Verneuil[2] on his way. But he did not find a single bridge that was left standing. At last, early in August, he reached Poissy, only a few miles from Paris, and the bridge over the river at that place having been destroyed, he set to work to rebuild it. He accordingly halted his troops for that purpose, and, while the bridge was being made, ravaged the country up

Edward marches towards the river Seine,

but cannot cross it.

The French destroy the bridges.

Edward arrives at Poissy, near Paris, and ravages the country.

[1] Robert of Avesbury, p. 128.

[2] This is a mistake of Froissart. Verneuil is far to the S.W.

A.D. 1346. to the very gates of Paris. He burnt St. Germain, Montjoie, St. Cloud, Boulogne, and Bourg la Reine.[1]

Philip's alarm.

The inhabitants of Paris were now greatly alarmed, and Philip saw that it was necessary to stir himself if he wished to save his kingdom. His army was concentrated in Aquitaine, 150 leagues from Paris, and could not possibly be recalled in time to defend the capital. Philip's jealousy of the Emperor Louis deprived him of the hope of obtaining help from Germany; but, fortunately for Philip, a new quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor had recently broken out, which brought him a valuable ally. The Pope, after compelling the Emperor to submit to the most abject humiliations, which brought on him the utter contempt of his own subjects and feudatories, was enraged that all the conditions he had imposed were not fulfilled with sufficient speed; he accordingly cursed him, with an extravagance of cursing power seldom if ever exceeded by an angry occupant of St. Peter's chair. "Be he accursed in his going out and coming in! The Lord strike him with madness, and blindness, and fury! May the heavens rain lightning upon him!" were among the choice invectives indulged in by the Pope. He then called on the Electors of the Empire to choose another Emperor,[2] and put forward as his nominee Charles, son of John, King of Bohemia. On the 11th of July, Charles went through the preliminary form of being elected King of the Romans, but, when he presented himself at Aix la Chapelle, to be crowned, he found the gates shut against him. His election had been declared void by the Diet of Spires. Unable there-

Quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope.

The son of the King of Bohemia

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. (book i. part i.) chap. 273.

[2] Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. vii. p. 459.

fore to find any place in Germany which would recognise him, he had no alternative but to offer his services to the King of France. He arrived at St. Denis, with about 500 knights and a large number of German nobles, most opportunely, just at the time that the English were ravaging the neighbourhood of Paris. Their presence raised the courage of Philip and his soldiers, and Philip soon collected an army more numerous than that of the English. The King's brother, the Count of Alençon, the Count of Blois, Count Louis of Flanders, Sir John of Hainault—the uncle of the Queen of England—(who had deserted to the French), the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Lorraine, and many others, joined the French. Philip established his head-quarters at St. Denis, and the people were all ready for fighting. "For a long time," says the chronicler of St. Denis, "there had not been seen at St. Denis the King of France in arms and ready for battle."

A.D. 1346.

opportunely comes to the assistance of Philip,

who raises a large army.

Edward's situation now became most critical. He had left behind him a devastated country, no longer able to support his army, and exasperated by his ravages; he was followed by an army more than twice as large as his own; and, when he had passed one river, had to cross another, or fight for the existence of his army at any time or place his enemy might choose. After passing the Seine, the Somme would still be before him; and it was not likely that the French would leave standing a single bridge over that river. It is true that the Flemings were advancing to his assistance; they had been besieging Bovines, but had given up the siege, and advanced to Gravelines, when they heard of the approach of the English. Still, even if they ventured so far into France as to be able

Edward's position becomes very dangerous.

A.D. 1346. to join the English, it was not likely they would succeed in crossing the Somme.

Edward builds a bridge over the Seine, crosses the river, and begins his retreat.

On the 16th of August, the bridge at Poissy was finished;[1] and Edward lost no time in crossing the river, and beginning what must be called his retreat. He had only just passed over, when his advanced guard, consisting of 500 lances and 1,200 bowmen, under the command of Geoffrey d'Harcourt, met a large body of the citizens of Amiens "on horse and foot, and in grand array," on their way to Paris, to join Philip's army. A battle ensued, in which, after hard fighting, the French were defeated with the loss (as it is said) of 1,200 men. Edward then marched through the country, burning and pillaging, as he had done in Normandy; but he gave orders that no church, abbey, nor monastery should be injured. He passed by Beauvais without attacking it; but, after he had left it, he saw that the abbey was in flames, and therefore sought out those who had thus disobeyed his orders, and hung twenty of them.

Edward reaches Airaines, and tries to find means of passing the Somme.

Edward remained three days at Airaines, while his marshals, the Earl of Warwick and Geoffrey of Harcourt, were endeavouring to find a ford or a bridge over the Somme that was not broken down; they searched in vain. Accompanied by a body of 1,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 bowmen, they looked for a place where they could cross the river; but the bridges were either destroyed or well defended They went to Pont de Remy, and found it strongly guarded; Long-en-Ponthieu and Pequigny were equally impassable, and they were obliged to return to Edward with the news of their ill-success.

Philip, with an army of above 100,000 men,[2] fol-

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 227. [2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 229.

lowed Edward without any great haste; he felt certain that he could either choose his own time and place for fighting, or starve him into a surrender. When Edward heard the discouraging report of his marshals, knowing that the French were at his heels, he determined to leave Airaines immediately, and march onwards in the hope of finding means of crossing the river. He quitted it early in the morning of the 23rd of August, and left in such haste, that when Philip arrived a few hours afterwards, he found "meat on the spits, bread and pastry in the ovens, wine in barrels, and even some tables ready spread." To have waited for the French would have been madness; the English were outnumbered by probably four or five to one, and, in the event of defeat, not a man could have escaped. But if, on the other hand, they were able to cross the Somme, they could choose their own time and place for fighting, and, in case of need, retreat to Flanders.

A.D. 1346.

Philip pursues Edward leisurely.

Edward leaves Airaines in haste, with the French at his heels,

The French were convinced that the English could not get across the Somme, and so they pursued them no farther that day; but the English pushed on with all haste to Oisemont, on their way to Abbeville, below which Edward believed there was a ford. On Edward's arrival there, he anxiously enquired, "whether there was anyone who could show him a passage, which ought to be below Abbeville, where we and our host can pass without danger." At last, "a varlet, called Gobin Agace," came to the King and said, "Sire, in the name of God, I promise you, and at the risk of my head, that I will take you to such a place, where you and your host may pass the river Somme without danger; and there are certain places in the passage where twelve men abreast could pass it twice

and pushes on towards Abbeville,

and rests at Oisemont, where he enquires about a ford.

Gobin Agace tells the King that he knows of one,

A.D. 1346. between day and night, and would not have water above their knees: for when the tide comes in, it chokes the river so that nobody could pass; but when this tide, which comes twice between night and day, is all gone back, the river remains there so small that one can easily pass on foot and on horse. This can be done nowhere but there, except at the bridge of Abbeville, which is a strong city, large and well furnished with soldiers. And the said passage, Sire, has a bottom of white stone, strong and hard, on which you can drive firmly, and for this reason it is called the Blanche Tache." Edward promised to make him and twenty of his companions freemen, and give them 100 gold nobles, if his information proved true; then, as Gobin advised, he ordered his troops to be ready to march the next morning before sunrise.

called Blanche Tache,

which is guarded by Godemar du Fay.

Now Philip knew, that this was the only ford on the Somme, by which Edward could cross; he had, therefore, posted Godemar du Fay, with 12,000 men, to guard the passage.

August 24, Edward prepares to cross the Somme.

At midnight, the English trumpets sounded; before daybreak, on the morning of Thursday, August 24th, Edward was ready with his whole army on the banks of the river, waiting for the tide to go out. It was an anxious time. Behind him, was a mighty host, now, doubtless, hurrying on to seize its expected prey, and at any moment likely to appear; before him, the wearisome tide, hurrying for no man, still obstinately refusing to allow the English to pass; whilst, on the opposite bank, was another army, eager to attack him. At last, the tide turned; the water became shallow; and the English dashed across. The Genoese crossbowmen poured showers of arrows into the ranks of the English, but the English long bows were more

deadly still. Under cover of the English arrows, the men-at-arms forced the passage; the French gave way; the main body of the English crossed the river; the Frenchmen fled; and Godemar's army was utterly scattered,[1] with the loss, it is said, of more than 2,000 men-at-arms.[2] A.D. 1346. Edward forces the passage, and defeats Godemar.

At length, then, the English were safe; but they were only just in time; the advanced guard of the French arrived before all the English had crossed, killed some of the hindermost, and seized some horses. But the tide was coming in, and the French army was obliged to remain on the bank, watching the enemy who had eluded them. Had Philip been a little more rapid, not an Englishman could have escaped. The French arrive, but just too late.

Edward now felt at his ease. He had arrived in Ponthieu; he was on ground which he had inherited from Margaret of France, his grandfather's second wife, although it did not then belong to him; he had plenty of provisions, and could choose his own time and place for fighting. On his arrival north of the Somme, he fulfilled his promise to Agace, and then sent his marshals forward with part of his army. "On the same day, Monsieur Hugh le Despencer took the town of Crotoy, and he and his men killed 400 men-at-arms, took the town, and found great plenty of victuals."[3] Edward slept that night at La Broye, a castle on the river Authie,[4] not far from Crécy, then an obscure village, but ever since one of the most memorable battle-fields of history. The next day, Friday, the 25th of August, the English troops went skirmishing about the country Edward resolves to wait for the French.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 231.

[2] Avesbury, p. 138. [3] Ibid. p. 138.

[4] "Château sur la rivière d'Authie, peu éloigné de Crécy." Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 233 (note 2).

A.D. 1346. till midday, when the army was drawn together; the King determined to encamp for the night in the woods near Crécy, and wait in their neighbourhood for the attack of the French. "I am on the rightful heritage of my mother,[1] which was given her in marriage," said he, "and I will defend it against my adversary, Philip of Valois." Edward then took counsel with his marshals, and examined the country, so as to select a favourable spot for the approaching contest. He despatched messengers to Abbeville, to find out whether the French were moving; then, finding that there was no chance of their advancing that day, sent his soldiers to their tents, bidding them take repose, so as to be in readiness for the morrow. That evening, he gave a grand entertainment to the leaders of his army, and, when all had departed, retired to his oratory, fell on his knees before the altar, and devoutly prayed, that, if he fought on the following day, he might come with honour out of battle.[2]

and chooses Crécy as his battle field.

Philip's preparations for pursuing the English.

When Philip found that the English had escaped from the trap, in which he thought he had caught them, he was greatly enraged; there was nothing left for him, however, but to go back to Abbeville, there cross the river and renew his pursuit of them. He therefore returned to that city, and remained there during the rest of Thursday and the whole of Friday. On the following day, Saturday, August 26th, A.D. 1346, took place that renowned battle, which not only saved the English army from destruction, but proved so disastrous to the French, that

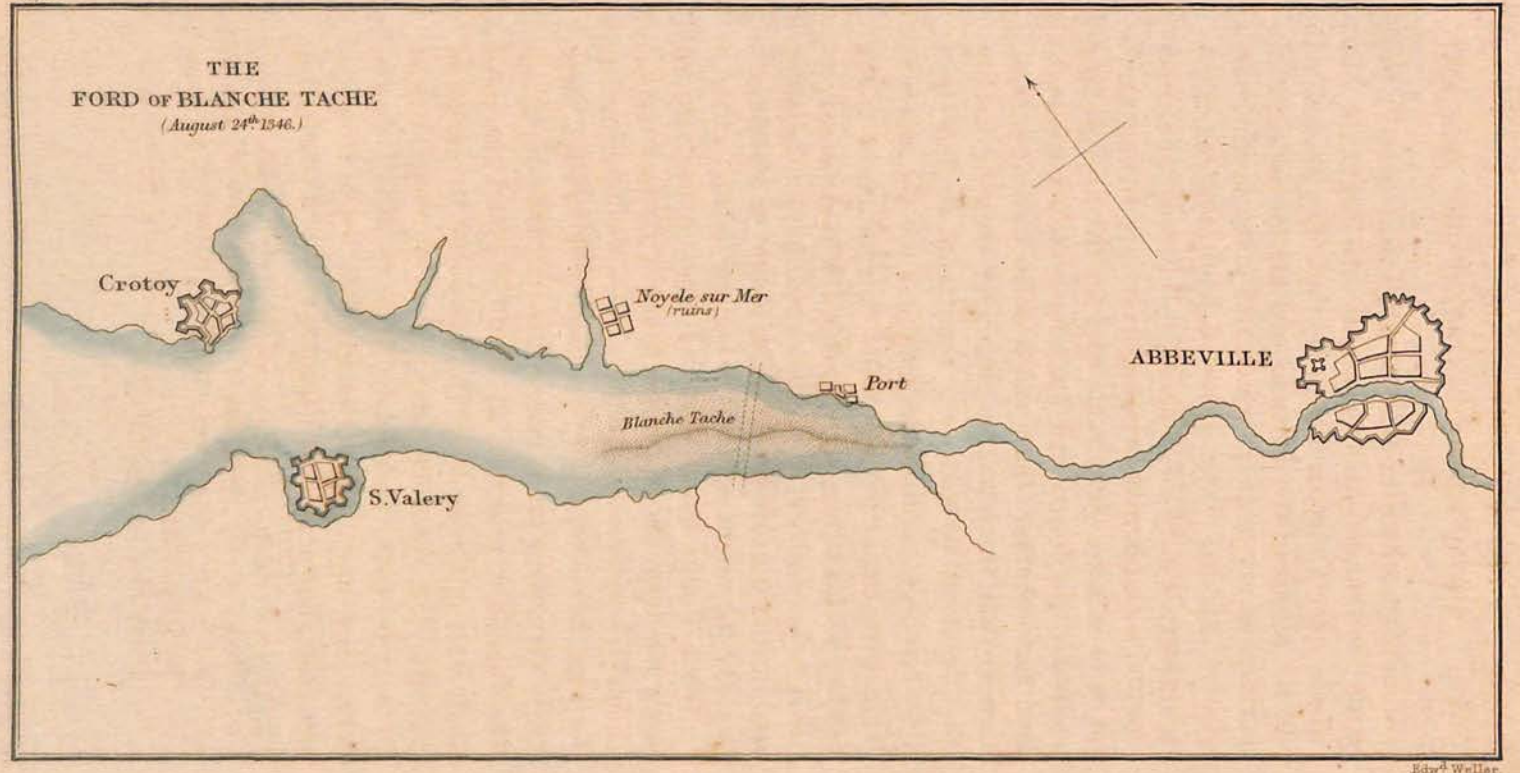
[1] This is an evident mistake on the part of Froissart. It was the heritage of his *grand*mother Margaret, second wife of Edward I. His mother Queen Isabella's settlement was, however, 2000*l.* a year from Ponthieu.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, pp. 232–234.

Map 5.

THE FORD OF BLANCHE TACHE

(August 24th 1346.)



London: Longmans & Co.

Edwd. Wellar.

Edward might, without difficulty, have marched back to Paris, driving the French before him, and insisted on his coronation as King of France. A.D. 1346.

Edward arranged his plans for the coming fight, with care and forethought; but Philip, relying on his superiority of numbers, neglected the comfort of his troops, was careless in his arrangements, and paid dearly for his folly. King Philip's carelessness.

On that eventful Saturday morning, the King and the Prince of Wales rose early, heard mass and received the sacrament, and the greater part of his army confessed themselves. Edward then arranged his troops, in the order of battle which he had planned the previous day. This was, that all should fight on foot, and remain on the defensive. He therefore sent all his horses to the rear with the baggage waggons, where they were protected by a wood. He divided his army into three battalions. The first consisted of 800 men-at-arms, 2,000 archers, and 1,000 Welshmen. Of this, he gave the command to the Prince of Wales, with the Earls of Warwick and Hereford, Geoffrey of Harcourt, John of Chandos, and others under him. Each had his banner or his pennon before him, and the red dragon of Wales (the dragon of Merlin and his prophecies) floated before the Welshmen. The second, was under the command of the Earls of Northampton, Arundel, and others, and comprised about 500 men-at-arms and 1,200 bowmen. The third, was commanded by the King himself, and numbered nearly 3,000, of whom 700 were men-at arms, and 2,000 were archers. King Edward arranges his troops in order of battle. The Prince of Wales' division. The Earl of Northampton's division. The King's division.

These are the numbers, given by Froissart,[1] which make Edward's army at this time to have consisted

[1] Buchon's ed. vol. i. book i. part i. chap. 284.

A.D. 1346. Estimate of the numbers of the English.

of only just over 8,000 men, of whom 2,000 were men-at-arms, 5,200 were bowmen, and 1,000 Welshmen. This, however, must be an insufficient estimate, even according to Froissart's own account, which represents him as sailing from England, only two months previously, with 4,000 men-at-arms and 10,000 bowmen, "besides Irishmen and Welshmen," and of the latter, it is tolerably certain, he took with him 3,550.[1] Thus, Froissart would make out, that, in these two months, Edward had lost 2,000 men-at-arms, nearly 5,000 bowmen, the whole of the Irish, and 2,550 out of the 3,550 Welshmen. This is very improbable, as the English had had no hard fighting, except at Caen and while crossing the Somme; but the materials for calculating the numbers of the English army are so scanty, that we must rest satisfied, either with the general statement, that the French greatly outnumbered the English, or with that of Villani, who makes the numbers of the English at Crécy to be 34,000. It is stated by Villani[2] that Edward placed between his archers "bombards, which, with fire, throw little iron balls to frighten and destroy the horses." But this is not mentioned by Froissart, who derived his account of the battle, as he himself states,[3] from eye-witnesses; Villani, who lived in Italy and was not present at the battle, is the only authority for Edward's employment of cannon at Crécy.

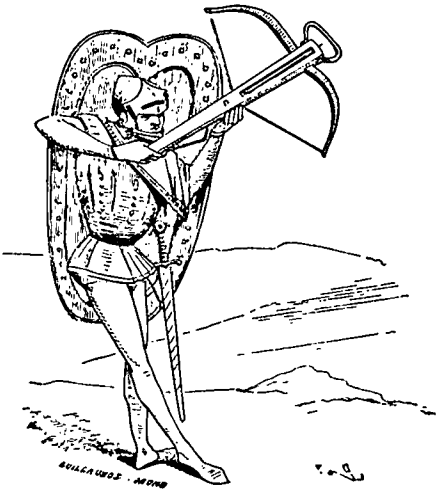
Asserted use of cannon at Crécy.

Exact position of the English.

The ground sloped towards the south and east. The Prince of Wales was placed on the right, nearly at the bottom of the hill, with the bowmen in front. The second division was on the left, protected by the river Maie, and by a deep ditch. The King took up

[1] Rymer, April 20, 1346, vol. iii. p. 79.

[2] Vol. vii. p. 163. [3] Buchon's ed. vol. i. p. 236.



CROSSBOWMAN WITH SHIELD.

From Viollet-le-Duc's Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.

his position above and behind the others, at a spot where a windmill then stood.[1] When all was arranged in perfect order, the King rode through the ranks, speaking cheerily to the men. It was then about midday, and Edward ordered his soldiers "to eat at their ease and drink a cup," after which they returned to their ranks, sat themselves on the ground, their bassinets and bows beside them, and waited patiently for the French. A.D. 1346.

Philip's arrangements.

The French were not so well cared for, nor were their plans so well arranged. Many of the soldiers were badly lodged on the Friday night; the King and some of his troops were lodged in Abbeville, others in the neighbouring villages, but many lay down in the fields. They began their march early in the morning of Saturday, August the 26th, the King, accompanied by the King of Bohemia and John of Hainault, leading the way, and the others advancing in a confused mass. When the King was two leagues from Abbeville, one of his leaders advised him to get his forces in order, to send the foot soldiers to the front, out of the way of the horses, and to send forward some knights to reconnoitre. Philip approved of the advice, and sent four knights towards Crécy. On their return, they were unwilling to state the conclusion at which they had arrived, after seeing the English; but, on being pressed by Philip, one of them said, "Sire, we have seen and observed the English. They are arranged in three lines of battle, there is no sign of their retreating. They will wait for you. I advise that you make your people stay here, and rest for this day, for by the time those behind are come up it will be late, your

He sends four knights forward to reconnoitre the English.

They advise Philip to delay the battle;

[1] James's *Black Prince*, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1836, vol. i. p. 470.

A.D. 1346. people will be tired, but your enemies will be fresh. You will be able to arrange your lines of battle better to-morrow, and be sure they will wait for you." The King thought the advice was good, and ordered it to be followed. So his two marshals rode, one to the front and one to the rear, crying out, "Halt banners, in the name of God and St. Denis." Those in the front, obeyed the orders; but those in the rear said, they would not stop till they were as far advanced as those in front. They were jealous of those who, as they thought, were in a more honourable position. So they all pressed on, and arrived in the presence of the English, in complete confusion.[1]

to which he agrees,

but he cannot stop the advance of his troops.

When the English saw the French approaching, they rose slowly, and stood undaunted in their settled order. The Prince was in the front, with his bowmen "in the form of a harrow," and the men-at-arms in the rear. When Philip saw the English "it stirred his blood, for he hated them;" and he ordered the Genoese crossbowmen, 15,000 in number, whom he had sent for from Italy after the landing of Edward, to advance. But the Genoese had marched more than six leagues and were weary, and refused to go forward. Then came on a terrible storm; the rain descended in torrents, wetting and slackening the bowstrings; the sky was darkened, and flocks of ravens, birds of ill omen as the soldiers thought, hovered over the French army. At last the storm ceased, the sun shone forth, and the Genoese were persuaded to advance. But it was afternoon; the sun dazzled them, and their bows were almost useless. When they got near the English, they set up a loud shout, to frighten them; but the English never

The battle begins.

A storm drenches the Genoese, and slackens their bowstrings.

The storm ceases, but the sun dazzles them.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. book i. part i. ch. 285 and 286.

moved, and seemed not to notice them. They then set up a second shout, and moved forward a step; but still the English stirred not. A third time they shouted "very loud and very clear," advancing with their cross-bows stretched, and began to shoot. Then, at last, the English advanced one step forward, took their bows out of the cases, in which they had taken the precaution of placing them for protection from the rain, and shot so quickly, "that it seemed as if it snowed." This so discomfited the Genoese, that they cut the strings of their bows, and retreated.[1] Behind the Genoese was "a great hedge" of men-at-arms, "mounted and apparelled very richly," and when Philip saw the Genoese retreating he was greatly enraged, and called out to the men-at-arms, "Kill me those scoundrels." His orders were obeyed, and right and left did they slash into their retreating friends, the English arrows all the while relentlessly pouring in upon them, wounding the horses, and increasing the confusion.

A.D. 1346.

The cool courage of the English.

The English bowmen discharge their arrows.

The Genoese retreat.

Philip orders them to be killed.

"Thus, at vespers," says Froissart, "began the battle between La Broye and Crécy in Ponthieu."[2]

Philip, "raging with anger and discontent," asked John of Hainault what he should do, and the Earl advised him to retreat. Philip took no notice of this dastardly counsel, but rode forward a little, and saw his brother the Count of Alençon on an eminence, advancing to attack the English. He would gladly have joined him, but was prevented by the confused crowd of his own soldiers. The Count of Alençon on one side, and the Count of Flanders on the other, now made a simultaneous attack on that division of

John of Hainault in vain advises Philip to retreat.

Furious attack on the English.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. Book 1, Part 1, ch. 287.

[2] Ibid. p. 237.

A.D. 1346. the English which was commanded by the Black Prince, and about the same time a body of German and Savoyard knights broke through the Prince's bowmen, to the men-at-arms behind, and engaged with them in a hand-to-hand fight. Then the Earls of Northampton and Arundel, who commanded the second division of the English, seeing the furious attack that was made on the Prince, sent to the King to beg him to come to his son's help. "Is he dead, or unhorsed, or so wounded that he cannot help himself?" asked the King. "No, Sire, please God; but he is in a hard passage of arms, and he much needs your help." "Sir Thomas," said the King, "return to those who have sent you, and tell them not to send to me again so long as my son lives; I command them to let the child gain his spurs, for I wish, if God has so ordered it, that the day may be his, and that the honour may rest with him and those to whom I have given it in charge." So the knight returned with the King's answer, and the English fought more fiercely than before. Vain were the efforts of the French: they could not break them. The Count d'Alençon, the Count of Flanders, and numbers of the French nobles, were slain; the Welshmen rushed in, stabbing the horses with their knives and short lances, and killing the dismounted knights.

The English Earls send to Edward for help,

which he refuses.

In the meantime, John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, son of the Emperor Henry the Seventh, who was old and blind, when he heard that the battle had begun, asked his knights how it was going on. "Sire, thus and thus is it: all the Genoese are discomfited, and the King has ordered them all to be killed, and they are falling on one another and

Courageous conduct of the blind old King of Bohemia,

hinder us," was the answer. "Ha!" said the King, A.D. 1346.
"that is a little sign for us." Then he asked after his son the King of Germany. "Where is Charles, my son?" They answered, "Sire, we know not, we think he is fighting." Then said the King, "Lords, you are my vassals, my friends, and my companions; I pray you, and beg you, that you will lead me so far that I may strike one blow with my sword." So his knights obeyed his orders; and, lest the blind old hero should get separated from them, on each side rode a knight, with his bridle tied to that of the King. Thus they went into the fight. The old King struck "one blow with his sword, even three, even four, and fought right valiantly." In the morning, they all made one heap of corpses.[1] who is slain.

The battle was lost to the French; it was of no use fighting any longer; and John of Hainault advised the King to fly. Philip, whose horse was killed under him, mounted one furnished him by Sir John, and unwillingly rode away from the field. It was midnight when he reached the Castle of La Broye.[2] The gate was shut, the bridge was drawn up. "Who is it that knocks at this hour?" was the answer to the shouts and hammerings of the King's companions. "Open, castellan, it is the unfortunate King of France."[3] The French are defeated.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. ch. 288–290. The story of the Prince of Wales adopting the plume of feathers and the motto "Ich dien," in memory of his having fought with the King of Bohemia, is of very doubtful authority.

[2] It is evident this is a mistake of Froissart, unless there were two places of the same name. See *ante*, p. 253.

[3] In all previously printed editions of Froissart, this phrase is given as "*C'est la fortune de France*," but Buchon states that he did not find it in that form in any MSS. he examined, besides which he considers it to be in complete contradiction to the circumstances of the day and of the epoch. Vol. i. p. 240 note.

A.D. 1346. The King entered, remained there for the night, and the next day continued his flight to Amiens.

Philip retreats to Amiens.

When Philip fled, the French were routed and were flying in utter confusion; but the English did not pursue them. They were still few in numbers, compared with their enemies, and prudently remained satisfied with the victory they had gained.

Conduct of the English after the battle.

Great fires, and numerous torches, were lit in the English camp to dispel the darkness, and the King now, for the first time, slaked his thirst, and then, heartily welcomed his brave son, kissing him and praising him. That night they thanked God, with devout adoration, for the victory they had gained, and "thus they passed this night without pomp or vanity."

Renewed fighting the next day, and further defeat of the French.

On Sunday morning, there was a great fog, and Edward sent out 500 men-at-arms and 2,000 bowmen, to see whether the French were rallying. A fresh body of soldiers, not knowing the defeat of the previous day, were advancing from Abbeville, and were immediately attacked and routed by the English. Soon after this, another troop, led by the Archbishop of Rouen and the Grand Prior of France, were also met and defeated by the English. But, at last, resistance was at an end, and the English counted the slain. Besides the King of Bohemia, 11 sovereign princes, 80 bannerets, 1,200 knights, and 30,000 foot, perished on the French side. No record was kept of the losses of the English; but they were nothing in comparison with those of the French, for, if these contemporary statements are true, the numbers of the French killed in the conflict far exceeded that of the whole of the English army.[1]

Number and rank of the slain.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. ch. 294 and 295; and Avesbury, pp. 136–140.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CALAIS.

THE consequences of the battle of Crécy were most disastrous to France, for the relative positions of the two monarchs and of the two nations were thereby entirely changed. When Edward landed in France, the French were hemming in the English in Guienne with overwhelming numbers; and, when he had penetrated into the heart of the country, his own situation was most perilous. It then became necessary to conquer or surrender; escape to England was impossible. But Crécy changed everything. The very flower of the French nobility was dishonoured or destroyed, as the Chronicler of St. Denis says with bitter sorrow; and he adds, "we must therefore believe that God has punished us for our sins." But it was not merely the nobility of France that was destroyed—Chivalry itself was disgraced; for Crécy proved that English villeins—common men bending their long bows, and Welsh and Irish serfs, armed with knives and spears—were more than a match for the proud nobles of France, mounted on war-horses and clothed in gorgeous armour.

A.D. 1346.

Consequences of the battle of Crécy.

On Monday, August the 28th, Edward began his march to Calais, while Philip fled to Paris. He passed through the Boulonnais, taking Estaples on his way, and on September the 3rd[1] arrived before

Edward's march to Calais.

[1] Robert of Avesbury, p. 140.

A D. 1346. Calais.[1] It is somewhat improbable, that, when Edward landed in Normandy, it was part of his plan to lay siege to Calais; had such been the case, it may be surmised that he would have landed nearer that city. As already related, however, he may have decided on so doing, after the capture of Caen. When flying before the French, anxiously seeking for means to cross the Seine, his plan can hardly have been any other than to secure his escape to England; but, after he had beaten the French at Crécy, it is pro-

Number and cost of Edward's forces.

[1] The forces of Edward in Normandy and before Calais, and their cost, are stated in an ancient MS. (quoted in Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 274) as follows :—

1 My Lord the Prince, per day 4*l.*
1 Bishop of Durham, per day 6*s.* 8*d.*
13 Earls, each per day 6*s.* 8*d.*
44 Barons and bannerets, each per day 4*s.*
1,046 Knights, each per day 2*s.*
4,022 Squires, constables, and guides, each per day 1*s.*
5,104 Taverniers (? Vintners) and horse-archers, each per day 6*d.*
335 *Revendeurs* (? retailers, translated Pauncenars in Johnes' *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 190), each per day 6*d.*
500 Hoblers (soldiers armed lightly, obliged always to have a horse ready in case of invasion), each per day 6*d.*
15,408 Bowmen on foot, each per day 3*d.*
314 Masons, carpenters, tent-makers, artillerymen, &c., some at 1*s.*, and others at 10*d.*, 6*d.*, and 3*d.* a day.
4,474 Welshmen on foot, of whom 200 were *taverniers* at 4*d.*, and the rest at 2*d.* a day.
700 Masters, sea-captains, and pages.
300 Ships and boats.

The sum total of the cost of all these forces, without reckoning the nobles, but adding some German and some Frenchmen, who received 15 florins a month each, was 31,294*l.* sterling.

This total amount is unintelligible; for, if the daily expenses are taken at 700*l.*, the total amount would be for about 44 days instead of one month. But Buchon goes on to say that, according to the account-book of Walter Wentwaght, entitled *Solde de Guerre en Normandie, en France, et devant Calais*, the total cost of the land and sea forces from June 4, A.D. 1346, to October 12, A.D. 1347, was 127,201*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.* This is quite inconsistent with the other account, as it makes the expenses only about 260*l.* a day.

ARCHER WITH SHEAF OF ARROWS.

From Viollet-le-Duc's Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.

bable that the idea of besieging Calais was resumed. A.D. 1346.
Even then, however, it was not generally divulged. On September 4th, the day after the King's arrival at Calais, Michael of Northburgh, "a sound clerk, of the counsels of the King, being and continually going with him,"[1] and therefore, in all probability, well acquainted with his plans, wrote, "I have heard that his purpose is to besiege Calais." Had the siege been part of Edward's original plan, it would surely have been known, to one who was thus constantly with him.

Edward summons Calais to surrender, but in vain,

The day after Edward's arrival before Calais, he summoned it to surrender; but the Governor, John de Vienne, a Knight of Burgundy, refused, and Edward therefore prepared for its siege. Seeing that it would be difficult to take the city by assault, he determined to sit down patiently before it, and either starve it out, or wait for an opportunity of making a successful assault, "even if he had to remain there for a dozen years."[2] So he proceeded to build a town round Calais, which he called Newtown the Bold, laid out with streets and shops, and well provided with provisions and all the requirements of an army. He then took means to prevent succours reaching Calais by sea, by occupying the harbour with a strong fleet.[3] He ravaged the country all round for provisions; and, in order to secure a continual supply for his army, and to keep open his communications with England, wrote to the mayors and bailiffs of nearly thirty sea-port towns, and to the Sheriffs of all the counties of England, stating that he was besieging Calais, and ordering all who were willing to sell "flour, bread, corn, wine, beer, flesh, fish, bows, arrows, strings for

and prepares for a long siege.

[1] Avesbury, p. 136. [2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 245.
[3] Knighton, col. 2588.

A.D. 1346. bows, and other victuals for the support of the army," to come to Calais. The French, however, had a very numerous fleet afloat,[1] and sent out cruisers to intercept them; Edward therefore wrote to say that, as "immense numbers" of French ships attacked those of the English conveying stores to him, ships must be fitted out to protect them.[2] He also ordered "machines and other instruments for breaking walls"[3] to be sent him from England.

The enormous expenses, entailed on the country by these requirements, rendered it necessary for the King again to apply to the nation, for a grant of more money. Parliament was accordingly summoned to meet on the 11th of September, and Edward sent Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh, Sir John Darcy the Chamberlain, and others, to give an account of his doings, and persuade it to give him further aid. On its assembling, the history of the King's progress through Normandy, of the victory at Crécy, and of the siege of Calais, was fully related; and, in order to stimulate the national passions of the members, they were informed of the details of the "Ordinance of Normandy," discovered at Caen, by which, as already related, an arrangement had been made in 1339 for the invasion of England, the object of which was stated to be the "destruction and annihilation of the English nation and language." There was of course no disapprobation of an expedition which had been so successful, and two fifteenths were granted for the support of the army; but, nevertheless, the Commons took the opportunity of endeavouring to obtain a redress of grievances. They complained that the people were

Meeting of Parliament.

[1] See Nicolas' *British Navy*, vol. ii. p. 94, note C.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 89 and 91.

[3] Knighton, col. 2588.

arrayed, and compelled to find "men-at-arms, hobelers, and archers," without consent of the Commons, and only by order of the "great men," or lords; and this, the Commons justly considered, an invasion of their constitutional rights. Excuses were made for such proceedings, but it was agreed that they should not be considered as a precedent. The Commons also demanded that the defence of the sea should be entirely at the King's expense (meaning, it may be presumed, from his prerogative rights of revenue, such as from customs tolls, requisitions from the Cinque Ports, and other like dues), "as had been promised," and that thenceforth the people should be released from that burthen; but they were told that the old usage should be continued, and, that there was no better way of defending the sea, than that of the King going abroad with his army for the defence of the land.[1]

A.D. 1346.

The Commons complain of illegal oppressions.

The English fleet blockaded Calais so closely, that it was impossible for the French to supply it with provisions; the Governor, therefore, soon found it necessary, to send out of the town, all those who were unable to assist in its defence. More than 1,700 men, women, and children, were thus driven forth, and left to their fate. They were admitted into the English camp. The King asked them why they came forth. They answered, they had nothing to live on. Then the King gave them leave to go among his host in safety, and gave them all a good dinner, and after dinner two pieces of money, called sterlings, to each.[2]

The Governor of Calais sends out of the town all who were unable to assist in its defence.

[1] Rot. Parl. 20 Ed. III.; and see Report on the Dignity of a Peer, vol. i. pp. 318 and 319.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 245. According to Knighton, only 500 persons were thus expelled from Calais, and most of them perished of cold between the town and the camp because the

A.D. 1346.

Events in England during Edward's absence.

The siege of Calais was continued throughout the winter. In the meantime, various events had been taking place in England, Guienne, and Brittany, of which it is necessary now to give an account. The defence of England against the Scots, claims the first place.

Invasion of England by the Scots.

When Edward embarked for Normandy in July, 1346, the Scots determined to avail themselves of the opportunity of invading England. Notwithstanding the truce of 1342, hostilities between the two countries had never entirely ceased; and now that, as they believed, England was "bare of fighting men, and that none but cowardly clerks and mean mechanics stood between them and a march to London,"[1] they were resolved not to lose a chance, seemingly so fair, of inflicting a heavy blow on their English enemies, although Sir William Douglas, "the Knight of Liddesdale," advised the Scottish nobles not to make so hazardous an attempt.[2]

The Scots lost no time in putting their plans in

King refused to allow them to pass. This statement is not enough to disprove Froissart's account, especially when Knighton apparently makes two blunders. The first is as to the time of year at which this expulsion took place. He says (col. 2592) that it was shortly before the Feast of John the Baptist; but, that feast being on June 24th, it is clear Knighton's date is quite wrong. He may have, however, meant the *Decollation* of John the Baptist, which was on August 29th. It is probable also that he has confounded the expulsion of the 1,700 with a subsequent incident, for he quotes, as having reference to the expulsion, an intercepted letter describing the famished state of the town, which was certainly written at and belonged to a later period of the siege.

[1] Fordun, quoted by Tytler, vol. i. p. 446.

[2] "For you shall read that my great grandfather
Never went with his forces into France,
But that the Scot on his unfurnished kingdom
Came pouring like the tide into a breach."
Shakspeare, *Henry V.*, Act I. Scene 2.

execution; but, although Edward was absent, there were energetic counsellors left in England to watch over the kingdom, and on the 20th August,[1] only three weeks after his departure, the necessary orders were issued, and a large army was soon collected to defend the North from the invasion of the Scots. Two months however elapsed before the armies met. David advanced to Hexham, then marched through Durham, plundering and laying waste the country, and did not halt till he reached Bear Park, near Nevill's Cross. By the time he had penetrated thus far, the English army, accompanied by Queen Philippa,[2] had reached the North of England, and was encamped at Bishop's Auckland. But, although the English were thus only about six miles from the Scottish camp, the two armies were concealed from each other by the undulating nature of the ground; and, utterly unconscious therefore of their position, "the Knight of Liddesdale" set out early in the morning of October 17th, with a strong squadron of heavy-armed cavalry, to forage. He suddenly found himself in the presence of the whole English army, which lost no time in attacking him, and he was obliged to retreat with the loss of 500 men. The English followed up this success by marching forward to attack the main body of the Scots.

A.D. 1346.

The Scots invade England.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 89.

[2] Froissart is the only historian who states that the Queen was present at Nevill's Cross; but, as it is well remarked by Buchon, in his edition of Froissart (vol. i. p. 253, note), "If we were to reject all the important facts, for which we have only the testimony of this conscientious historian, there would be few interesting facts left in the curious history of these long wars." Still it is very doubtful whether the Queen was present. See *Political Poems and Songs*, edited by Thos. Wright, M.A., vol. i. Introduction, p. xx.

A.D. 1346.

Battle of Nevill's Cross.

The great battle was now about to begin. David drew up his army in three divisions; taking the command of the centre himself, giving the right wing to the Earl of Moray, and the left to the Knight of Liddesdale, the Steward, and the Earl of Dunbar. They were hardly in order of battle, when the English arrived within bowshot, and began to discharge their arrows. This worried the Scots greatly, and Sir John Graham, an experienced soldier, asked the King to let him charge the archers in flank with a body of cavalry, as Bruce had done with signal success at Bannockburn. The King refused. "Give me but a hundred horse, and I engage to disperse them all," cried Graham; but still the King refused, and the deadly flight of the English arrows went on, and harassed the Scots exceedingly. The whole of the English army soon came up, with a large crucifix carried in its front, around which innumerable banners and pennons, gorgeously embroidered, floated in the wind. The English men-at-arms lost no time in attacking the left wing of the Scots, which, having been completely disordered by the English bowmen, offered but a feeble resistance. Numbers were killed, and the English cavalry charged through and through their ranks, till at last Moray was slain and his division utterly routed. David fought better, and for three hours the centre of the Scots gallantly resisted the attack of the English; but the English bowmen again thinned their ranks, and at last the King himself was grievously wounded by two arrows, one penetrating deeply and sticking in the wound. Many of the Scottish nobles now fell beneath the English onslaught; David was taken prisoner, as was also the Knight of Liddesdale; but the Steward

David taken prisoner,

escaped, and all now fled, without any attempt on the part of the Steward to rescue his King. David was taken by an English knight named Copland, who had a severe struggle with him, and lost two of his teeth by a blow from the King's dagger, before he could overcome him. Copland refused for some time to deliver him up to the Queen, without an express order to that effect; but at last he yielded, and was raised to the rank of Knight Banneret, with a handsome pension.[1] David and the rest of the prisoners were taken to London and confined in the Tower. Thus, for a time, ended all power on the part of the Scots, to assist their French allies by attacking the English. Soon after the battle, Queen Philippa went to join the King at Calais, and arrived there shortly before Christmas.[2]

A.D. 1346.

and sent to the Tower of London.

Queen Philippa goes to Calais.

The events which had taken place in Aquitaine, during the time that Edward was marching through France from Normandy to Calais, must now be related. When Edward landed in Normandy on the 12th July, the siege of Aiguillon by the French had been going on for nearly three months, having been begun at the end of April or beginning of May.[3] Aiguillon was situated on a narrow tongue of land between the Lot and the Garonne, and the French had endeavoured to construct a bridge over the latter river, "which is broad, long, and deep,"[4] so as to attack the fortress from the land side. The Duke of Normandy approached the fortress by Port St. Marie, but could not attack the town from the rear without crossing the Garonne. Day after day, the French worked at the bridge; when

Events in Aquitaine during Edward's invasion of France.

Siege of Aiguillon.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. pt. 1, p.102.
[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 256.
[3] Ibid. p. 212, note. [4] Ibid. p. 214.

A.D. 1346. it was nearly half finished a party of English got into boats and destroyed it. But the French were not disheartened, and began the bridge again; and nevertheless, although they were daily attacked by the English, they at last completed it and assaulted the town. They were repulsed, but continually renewed the attack, bringing up fresh troops four times a day. This lasted for six days, and then the French sent to Toulouse for six great engines, which threw heavy stones into the town night and day. But the English made other engines, with which they destroyed those of the French; and so, the siege went on, every device being tried by the French, and all means of defence being successfully made use of by the English. At last, about the 12th August, the Earl of Lancaster[1] advanced from La Reole to Bergerac on his way to relieve the place.[2] While the Earl was at Bergerac, the Duke of Normandy tried to make a truce with him; but he, knowing that Edward had landed in Normandy, refused, and the French camp was then immediately broken up. This took place on the 20th of August.[3] The news of Edward's landing reached the Duke, in all probability, about the same time that the Earl of Lancaster heard of it, and, doubtless, was the cause, of his first proposing a truce, and then abandoning the siege. It is stated by Froissart[4] that a letter from Philip, giving an account of the defeat at Crécy and ordering his son to join his army immediately,

The Earl of Lancaster advances to its relief.

Siege given up,

[1] Avesbury (p. 141) styles the Earl of Lancaster, "Domini Henrici Lancastriæ tunc Comitis Derbeiæ;" but, as already explained, he became Earl of Lancaster in A.D. 1345.—See Sandford's *Genealogical History*, pp. 109 and 112.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 248 (note 1).

[3] Robert of Avesbury, p. 142. [4] Buchon's ed., vol. i. p. 246.

was the reason why the Duke of Normandy gave up the siege of Aiguillon; but, as the siege was abandoned six days before the battle, this is evidently a mistake, and it is probable, that Philip's orders to his son to join him at Paris, were sent as soon as Philip became aware that Edward was advancing towards that city. Be this, however, as it may, it is certain, that on the 20th August, the Duke of Normandy broke up his camp, and marched off with his army to the assistance of his father. This, left the Earl of Lancaster at liberty, to attack various other towns. Having taken Sauveterre, Château Neuf sur Charente, and St. Jean d'Angely, he marched on Poitiers, which he took after a vigorous resistance; then, after taking some small towns, he returned to Bordeaux, and took shipping for England, where he arrived early in the following year.[1] The Earl's object in returning to England was, probably, to organise a reinforcement of the army besieging Calais. He had reduced the south of France to almost total subjection, and, according to the custom of the time, could not continue warlike operations during the winter.

A.D. 1346.

and retreat of the French.

Successes of the Earl of Lancaster,

and his return to England.

Shortly after the retreat of the French from Aiguillon, Sir Walter de Maunay, having heard of the victory at Crécy, was anxious to join his Royal Master at Calais;[2] and, by means of the release of a prisoner whom he had taken at Aiguillon, obtained a

Sir Walter de Maunay obtains a safe-conduct to Calais,

[1] January 14, 1347.—Robert of Avesbury, pp. 142–4. Froissart (p. 251) states that it was Lancaster's intention to sail for Calais; but, whether this was so or not, it is clear from his letter (quoted by Avesbury) that he went straight to England.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 247.

A.D. 1346. safe-conduct through France, from the Duke of Normandy, for himself and twenty companions. He was, however, taken prisoner at St. Jean d'Angely, but escaped. At Orleans he was again taken, and carried off to Paris. On his arrival, the King of France, knowing that Sir Walter was a skilful commander, threatened to put him to death, alleging, as an excuse for such treachery, that he was his greatest enemy. When the Duke of Normandy heard of this, he was very wroth, and declared he would never bear arms against the King of England, if his father disgraced himself by executing Sir Walter. At length Philip yielded, and not only released Sir Walter, but made him dine with him, and gave him jewels and other presents of great value. Sir Walter accepted them, subject to King Edward's approval; and when he reached Calais, finding that the King disapproved of his receiving presents from his enemy, returned them to Philip.

but is taken prisoner at Orleans.

He is released.

Events in Brittany.

Sir T. D'Agworth succeeds Earl Northampton as commander.

He defeats a large body of the French.

The events which had occurred in Brittany must now be related. On the Earl of Northampton's departure for England, in the spring of A.D. 1346, Sir Thomas D'Agworth carried on the war there. It was necessary for him to convey stores to the garrisons in the various cities held by the English, for famine was raging throughout Brittany, and a bad harvest was expected. But the English troops were greatly outnumbered by the French, and he, therefore, had great difficulty in effecting his object. At length, on the 9th of June, Sir Thomas, accompanied by only 80 men-at-arms and 100 horse-archers, who were escorting a body of peasants conveying stores, was attacked by the whole body of the forces under the command of Charles of Blois, which, it is said (with evi-

dent exaggeration), consisted of about 1,800 knights and men-at-arms, 2,000 archers, and 30,000 irregular foot. Sir Thomas, seeing that it was impossible to retreat or cut his way through the vast mass which was opposed to him, made a stand in a very strong position on a hill, and defended himself so well against the repeated attacks of the French, thinning their ranks with his archers as they charged up-hill, that at last the French retreated,[1] and D'Agworth was able to convey the stores in safety to their destination. A.D.1347.

On the 10th of January in the following year (1347) D'Agworth was appointed Commander in Brittany,[2] and soon had to defend the fortress of Roche Derien, against a formidable attack on it by Charles of Blois. In a letter to Edward's Chancellor,[3] John Offord, D'Agworth gives an interesting account of the operations. He states, that, Charles having laid siege to it with 1,200 men-at-arms, knights, and esquires, with 600 other men-at-arms, 600 bowmen of the country, and 2,000 crossbowmen, and an immense number of rabble, he determined to attack him; and, that, on the 20th of June, he came to close quarters with him before daybreak, after threading his way through "great forests of ditches and hedges." D'Agworth says, he had only about 300 men-at-arms and 400 archers; but, that at daybreak the garrison sallied out of the town, and their united forces defeated the French with great slaughter. Froissart[4] D'Agworth relieves Roche Derien.

[1] James's *Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 44, quoting Lobineau, *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. i. p. 338.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 100. [3] Robert of Avesbury, p. 159.

[4] Buchon's edition, vol. i. pp. 261, 262.

A.D.1347. gives a more minute account of the battle, and states that it began at midnight, that D'Agworth was taken prisoner and rescued, and that the struggle was renewed the next morning. Among the prisoners taken by the English, was Charles of Blois himself, who, after he was healed of the numerous wounds he had received, was sent a prisoner to the Tower of London, where he was confined with the King of Scotland. After the relief of Roche Derien and the capture of Charles, the English had many successes in Brittany; but Jeanne of Penthièvre, wife of Charles, following the example set her by the Countess of Montfort, gallantly carried on the war during the imprisonment of her husband.

Charles of Blois taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower of London.

Philip's conduct after the battle of Crécy.

Such was the position of affairs in France, after the battle of Crécy. The means, taken by Philip for the relief of Calais, now claim attention. Philip was at first so disheartened at the defeat of his troops, that he did nothing but accuse Godemar of having been its cause, because he did not prevent the English from crossing the Somme; but at last he became pacified and fled to Paris.[1] He considered the campaign at an end, and dismissed both the army which had been defeated at Crécy, and also that which he had summoned from Aiguillon.[2] The siege of Calais must, however, soon have awakened him to the fact that, although he might fancy that fighting was over for the present, such was not Edward's idea; he consequently found it necessary, to make arrangements for garrisoning and fortifying the various fortresses round Calais, so as in fact to besiege the besiegers. He also occupied the sea with many Nor-

His plans for the relief of Calais.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 244.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 313.

man and Genoese ships, much to the embarrassment of English commerce.[1] A.D. 1347.

The friendship of Flanders was of great importance both to the English and the French, and each, therefore, made great efforts to secure it. On the death of the Count of Flanders at Crécy, his son, Louis de Mâle, a boy of fifteen years old, who, as vassal to the King of France, was under Philip's guardianship and took the oath of allegiance to him, became heir to Flanders.[2] Edward thought, that a marriage, between his daughter Isabella and the young Count, would secure the friendship of the entire country. The Flemings themselves were well disposed towards him, and were inclined to favour the alliance, for they felt that if the marriage took place they would be better able to resist the French, and that the friendship of England was of more value to them than that of France. But the Duke of Brabant was equally anxious to secure the Count for one of his own daughters, and promised Philip that if he would give his consent to such a marriage, he would bring round the Flemings to friendship with France. He contrived to cajole the burgomasters into the same opinion, and persuaded them to invite the young Count to come back to Flanders. Louis de Mâle returned accordingly at the beginning of November, A.D. 1346, and was received with great acclamations. On hearing of this, Edward sent the Earls of Northampton, Arundel, and Cobham, as ambassadors to the Flemings. They represented to the commonalty[3] of the great towns, the importance of an alliance with England; and called their atten-

The English and French both court the alliance of the Flemings.

Edward offers his daughter in marriage to the young Count, and so does the Duke of Brabant.

The young Count returns to Flanders.

The English Ambassadors persuade the Flemings to insist on their Count marrying Edward's daughter,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 256.

[2] Ibid. p. 257, note.

[3] Ibid. p. 257.

A.D. 1347. tion to the fact, that the manufacturers of Flanders were entirely dependent on England for their wool. At last, they persuaded the Flemings to petition Louis to marry Edward's daughter. The young Count would not consent; he answered, with great anger, that he would never marry the daughter of a man who had killed his father. It is a striking evidence of the power of the citizens of Flanders, that, when they found their Count resolved to adhere to the French rather than the English alliance, they seized him and kept him in a kind of honourable captivity. The Count, under these circumstances, thought it politic to pretend to yield, and promised to marry the English princess. The Flemings were delighted, and so was Edward. On the 1st of March, A.D. 1347, Edward and Philippa, with great pomp, met the young Count and the burgomasters at Bergues in the abbey of St. Vinox. The King of England then took the Count of Flanders by the hand, and called God to witness that he was innocent of his father's death—as indeed he might with perfect truth, since the old Count fell in fair battle-fight. Louis pretended to be satisfied, agreed to the marriage in the most formal manner, and a day was appointed for the ceremony to take place. The parties then separated, and Louis returned to his virtual imprisonment in Ghent. He had gained his object; he had deceived the Flemings, and dispelled their suspicions. He was, however, watched, and never went out without being guarded; but a considerable amount of liberty was granted to him, and he was allowed to indulge in his favourite sport of hawking, or "going to the river," as Froissart calls it, accompanied by his guards. But

and keep him under guard. He feigns to consent,

and is kept under less restraint,

he was always watching his opportunity, and one day, the 28th of March,[1] A.D. 1347, his falconer having loosed his hawk at one heron, he did so at another, and galloped after it at the top of his horse's speed. He soon outstripped his attendants, and rode towards the frontier. Before long, he reached Artois, was safe in the kingdom of France, and remained the ally of Philip till the end of the war. A.D. 1347. and escapes to France.

The effect of Count Louis's escape into France, was only to throw the Flemings more heartily into Edward's cause. They at once raised an army of above 100,000 men;[2] ravaged the country up to the very gates of St. Omer and Therouenne; and rejected liberal offers of commercial advantages, made them by Philip on condition of their becoming his allies.[3] The Flemings adhere to Edward more firmly, and place an army on the French frontier.

The siege of Calais had been maintained during the whole of the winter, and, early in the following year, Edward was well furnished by the home government with the means of carrying it on. On the 15th of February, the Guardian of the Kingdom ordered four men from each of 32 ports to attend at Westminster, to report on the state of the navy. On the 16th of the following month, Parliament having granted 120 "large ships," each to carry 60 sailors well armed, and 20 bowmen, he wrote to order the Sheriffs of the counties on the coast to provide them;[4] then, on the 8th of April, he bought eight flags for four ships, called The Edward of Greenwich, The Holy Mary of London, The Plente of Hooke, and The Barnabas of London.[5] Progress of the siege of Calais.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 259, note.
[2] Ibid. p. 264. The number must be exaggerated.
[3] Robert of Avesbury, p. 154.
[4] Rymer, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 112.
[5] Ibid. p. 116.

A.D. 1347. Blockade, and starvation of the garrison, were the principal means on which Edward relied for the capture of Calais; but he did not neglect the usual modes of attack. His military engines were constantly battering the walls, and cannon, although of small size, were certainly used in the siege. Edward had 20 guns at Calais; but they cannot have had much effect, for 3 or 4 oz. of powder was the average daily allowance for each gun, and 204 leaden shot and 12 pieces of lead were all the materials supplied for the projectiles. Arrows, with leather bound to the shaft, to keep them firmly in the tube, and winged with brass, were also shot out by these cannons.[1] The French, however, succeeded in throwing some provisions into the town; when Edward discovered this, he caused a fort to be built on a tongue of land, commanding the harbour and effectually blockading the town. The Earl of Warwick kept command of the Channel with eighty ships,[2] and from thenceforth no food could be conveyed into the town. Soon after this, the Earl of Lancaster arrived with large reinforcements. The French made another attempt, on the 25th of June, to supply the town; but the Earls of Northampton and Pembroke, and others, having heard of their intention, put to sea, and came up with the French fleet near Crotoye. A graphic account of what ensued is given by a person who was in the English army, and who states he received the account "from a knight who was with the ships."[3] He says: "About the hour of vespers they met the enemy near Crotoye, who had forty-four

Cannon used at Calais.

The French provision the town,

and Edward builds a tower to command the harbour.

Defeat of the French relieving fleet.

[1] *Ancient Cannon in Europe*, by Capt. H. Brackenbury, R.A., pt. 1, Woolwich, 1865, pp. 16, 17, 20, and 21.

[2] Knighton, col. 2592. [3] Robert of Avesbury, p. 156.

vessels, flutes, galleys, and victuallers, laden with provisions. Such of the enemy's vessels as were in the rear, threw their provisions into the sea, and some of them sailed towards England, and others towards the port of Crotoye. The ten galleys which had abandoned their boats and their cargoes made for the sea; and one flute and twelve victuallers, which were in the van, were so hotly pursued that they ran as close to the land as they could, when all on board leaped into the sea and were drowned, so that not a single person returned alive to his vessel." A.D. 1347.

The next night, two vessels were seen going out of the harbour of Calais, and were immediately chased by the English. One escaped back to the harbour, although with great difficulty, but the other was taken. Before his vessel was obliged to surrender, the captain of the latter threw into the sea, tied to a hatchet, a letter which the Governor had written to the King of France, and which was found the next day on the shore at low water. In it, the Governor described the extreme misery of the garrison. He said that the city was in great need of corn, wine, and flesh; that everything was eaten up, even the dogs, cats, and horses; that they could find nothing more to eat unless they should eat each other, and that they must surrender unless they were supplied with food.[1] The letter was taken to Edward, who, with grim humour, immediately sent it to Philip, telling him, for his own fame, to hasten to send help to his people of Calais.[2] Great distress of the garrison of Calais.

Philip, in the meantime, had been making great preparations to attack the English before Calais. In order to raise money for the payment of his troops, he

[1] Robert of Avesbury, pp. 156–8. [2] Knighton, col. 2593.

A.D. 1347. had practised every kind of oppression,[1] and, being supported by his States-General, ordered a general muster of his troops at Hesdin on the 20th of May. Philip went there on the 16th of April, but, the troops were so slow in arriving, that it was the middle of July before he could begin his march towards Calais. His first object was to secure himself from attack by the Flemings, who were lying at Quesnoy, on the Lys. He therefore marched with his whole army to Arras, and from thence detached his son, John Duke of Normandy, to attack the Flemings. John drove them towards Cassel, where they halted, and were joined by a large number of English archers; on again attacking the Flemings, after several hours' hard fighting, the French were unable to make any impression on them. The Duke consequently, withdrew his troops, left the Flemings and English in possession of the field,[2] and, retreating in good order, rejoined the main army on its march to Calais.[3]

Philip orders a general muster of his troops,

and attacks the Flemings.

The French are defeated.

They march on Calais.

The advance of the French army on Calais now began. With the usual exaggeration, or loose reckoning of the times, they were said to number about 200,000 men; "one with another," as Froissart says, which probably means taking into account the rabble of camp followers. They marched in battle-array, with banners flying; and, according to the same loving chronicler of chivalric pomp, "it was

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. pp. 316, 317.

[2] Avesbury, p. 154. According to Robert of Avesbury, this battle took place on June 8; but according to the *Chronicles of France*, referred to in Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 262 (note) Philip did not leave Hesdin till the middle of July.

[3] James, vol. ii. p. 22.

beautiful to see and consider their mighty array, and one could not help looking at them." There were three ways by which Philip could approach Calais; one, by the Dunes, or sandhills, which extend along the margin of the sea to the south-west; the second, by Gravelines; the third, by a great tract of marshy ground to the north-east, over which it was impossible for troops to pass, except by a single road or dyke, on which was a bridge, called the Bridge of Nieulay. Edward defended the passage by the Dunes, by drawing up his ships, well supplied with "bombards, cross-bows, archers, and springalds;" besides which, this passage was defended by double ditches, and by a high tower, occupied by thirty-two bowmen. That by Gravelines, was in possession of the Flemings.[1] The marshes, were defended by troops commanded by the Earl of Lancaster, the bridge, and nature of the ground, rendering the defence comparatively easy. The French advanced by the Dunes; on the 27th of July, they appeared on the Sandgatte hills, and gained possession of the tower; but they could not get nearer to the English than just within a mile, and were therefore unable to attack them.[2]

A.D. 1347.

Three ways by which it could be attacked.

The French arrive on the Sandgatte hills, but cannot get close to the town.

On the day of Philip's arrival before Calais,[3] two cardinals, who had accompanied him on his march, presented themselves at the end of the dyke which crossed the marsh, and demanded to speak with the Earl of Lancaster. They declared, that Philip was willing to offer advantageous terms of peace; but, on entering into details, it was seen that the terms offered

Two cardinals mediate for peace,

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 325 and 326.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 316 and 317.

[3] Letter from Edward in Robert of Avesbury, p. 161.

A.D. 1347. but in vain.

were quite inadmissible, and, indeed, so utterly unsatisfactory, that it seemed as if Philip had no honest intention of making peace, and that his only object was delay.

Philip proposes to Edward that he should come out from his entrenchments, and fight him in the open country.

The negotiations were therefore broken off, and Philip then, on the 31st of July, sent Geoffroy de Chargny, Eustache de Ribaumont, Guy de Nesle, and the Lord of Beaujeu, to the English camp, to propose to Edward, to come out from behind the marshes, and fight him in the open country. The messengers were admitted by the bridge of Nieulay, and, as they passed the bridge, took good care to observe the way in which it was defended. On their arrival in the presence of Edward, De Ribaumont made a proposal most characteristic of that inconsistent system known as chivalry, but which would have been impossible in any other state of society. "Sire," he said, "the King of France sends us to you, and tells you that he has come to the hill of Sandgatte to fight you, but that he can neither see nor find any way by which he can get at you, and he has a great desire to raise the siege of Calais. He has ordered his marshals to advise him how to reach you, but it is impossible. He would, therefore, be glad if you would appoint a place where he could fight you."

Edward refuses, (according to Froissart),

Edward, in like accordance with the spirit of the times, answered, "Gentlemen, I perfectly understand the request you have made me from my adversary, who wrongfully keeps me from my inheritance, which weighs much with me. You will therefore tell him from me, if you please, that I have been on this spot near a twelvemonth. This he was well informed of, and, had he chosen, he might have come here sooner; but he has allowed me to

remain so long that I have expended very large sums of money, and have done so much that I must be master of Calais in a very short time. I am not, therefore, inclined in the smallest degree to comply with his request. If then neither he nor his army can pass this way, he must seek out some other road." This is the account given by Froissart;[1] according to the King's own statement, he accepted the challenge, and appointed four knights to arrange the time and place for the battle. But, he says, the French then began to draw back and make difficulties, and on Thursday morning, August 2nd, the whole French army decamped, leaving their tents in flames.[2] The reason for this extraordinary conduct on the part of the King of France would be inexplicable, if Edward had really accepted the challenge; but if he had refused it, as Froissart states, it is easy to understand that Philip gave up the relief of Calais in despair, however much his want of perseverance may be blamed.

A.D. 1347.

but accepts it according to his own account.

Philip's great army retreats.

On the departure of the French army, the garrison of Calais was filled with consternation, and, knowing that it now had no chance of obtaining a supply of provisions, determined to surrender; the Governor, John de Vienne, accordingly made signs to the English that he wished to treat. Edward sent Sir Walter de Maunay and Lord Basset to confer with him. He offered to give up the city, provided all were allowed to go out unharmed; but Sir Walter de

Calais surrendered,

[1] Vol. i. chap. 318.

[2] See Edward's letter in Avesbury, p. 163. "Nous lour feismes respoundre q' nous accemptasmes leur offre, et prendrisoms le bataille voluntiers." . . . . . "Ceux de lautre partie maintenant quant ils auoient oye ceste respounse comencerent de varier en lor offres," &c. &c.

A.D. 1347. Maunay demanded an unconditional surrender. The Governor answered that they would rather sell their lives dearly than yield to such conditions. Sir Walter returned to Edward and reported the result of his conference, but the King was not inclined to grant any terms whatever to the garrison, and insisted on entire submission. Sir Walter persuaded him to be more merciful, showing him that if he granted no quarter he could expect none in return, and that his own followers would therefore be unwilling to fight for him. Edward at last yielded, but he imposed the hard terms that six of the principal burgesses of Calais should surrender themselves to him unconditionally, and, bareheaded and barefooted, and with ropes round their necks, should bring him the keys of Calais. The terms were communicated to John de Vienne, who immediately called the inhabitants together and told them of Edward's message. Their distress was great, but, after a time, Eustache de St. Pierre, "the richest burgess of the city," rose and said, "Gentlemen, it would be great pity and great mischief to let die such a people as this, if means can be found to prevent it; and it would be great alms and great grace towards our Lord for anyone who could prevent it. I have myself great hope of grace and pardon from our Lord, if I die to save this people; and I will be the first, and I will willingly give myself up to the mercy of the King of England." After this noble example, five others quickly presented themselves, and expressed their willingness to surrender themselves with Eustache. The inhabitants, weeping bitterly, followed them to the gate; the Governor handed them over to Sir Walter de Maunay, and begged him to

but Edward makes hard terms.

The story of the burgesses of Calais.

persuade Edward to spare their lives. Sir Walter said he would do his best; the gates closed, and the prisoners were taken to King Edward. Sir Walter presented them to the King, "who held himself quite still, and looked at them hardly, for he hated the inhabitants of Calais for the damage they had done him on the sea in times past." The burgesses then knelt before the King, and gave him the keys of Calais, begging for mercy. But Edward ordered their heads to be cut off; and when De Maunay interceded for them, he ground his teeth, and said, "Master Walter, be quiet; it cannot be otherwise; let the headsman come." The Queen then fell at his knees, and begged for their lives. Edward, who may have been acting a part from the beginning, at once yielded and gave the prisoners to the Queen, by whom they were clothed, fed, and set at liberty; and Edward himself settled a pension of forty marks a year on Eustache de St. Pierre.[1] The surrender of Calais took place on August 3rd, A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1347.

The burgesses are set free.

[1] I hesitated long before I could come to the conclusion that Edward had acted thus cruelly. But it is difficult to doubt the truth of Froissart's very circumstantial account, especially when it is considered that his history is an eulogy of Edward. Thomas de la More (in Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 244) mentions the surrender of the prisoners, stating that John de Vienne went with them, "with an halter about his necke, with the other burgesses and souldiers following on foote, bareheaded and barefooted, having halters about their neckes." He says however nothing about Edward condemning them to death, but, on the contrary, that he "enriched them with large guifts." Knighton's account agrees with that of De la More, but Villani states most distinctly that Edward condemned them to death. "Volendo il re d'Inghilterra far fare giustizia de' terrazzani, siccome di pirati di mare, e tutti impenderli alle forche."—*Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, Firenze, 1823, tomo vii. p. 317. The omissions of other chroniclers are not

A.D. 1347. Edward then entered the city, confiscated the property of the inhabitants, all of whom—with some few exceptions, among whom was Eustache de St. Pierre—he ordered to quit the town, and immediately took measures to make it an English colony and people it entirely with English. On the 12th of August,[1] the Guardian of the Kingdom, having of course previously received instructions from the King, issued a precept to the Sheriffs of all the Counties and others, stating that whereas it was desirable that Calais should be well supplied with "victuals and other things," and "inhabited and strengthened" by Englishmen, he ordered them to proclaim, that all who wished to settle at Calais should come there by the 1st of September, that he would provide them with houses, and grant them such privileges as would enable them to dwell there in safety. Philip, however, seems to have contemplated an attempt to recover Calais, for, on the 20th of August, Edward wrote to order troops to be sent over to him before the 8th of September, on account of the preparations which "as we, for certain, have understood" Philip was making. Edward, on taking possession of Calais, had sent home a considerable number of his troops. This had not escaped the observation of Philip's friends, and it became necessary for Edward to write on the 8th of September, to hasten the arrival of the reinforcements, especially mentioning the departure of these troops as the circumstance which had induced Philip to prepare for attempting the recovery of the city.[2]

Edward takes possession of Calais.

Edward's plans for peopling Calais with English.

Preparations of Philip to recover Calais.

Soon afterwards, however, Pope Clement the Sixth

a sufficient reason for disbelieving the positive statements of Froissart and Villani.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 130.

[2] Ibid. pp. 130, 135.

offered to mediate between the two monarchs, who were now quite ready to accept the proposal, and on the 28th of September a truce, to last till June 24th, 1348, was signed. This provided for a cessation of hostilities between, not only the principals themselves, but also between their allies, in the most stringent manner. All sieges in Gascony, Guienne, Brittany, Poitou, and elsewhere, were to be raised immediately; neither king was to enter the dominions of the other; the Count of Flanders was not to return home; and, in short, every possibility of quarrel was sought to be guarded against.[1]

A.D. 1347. The Pope offering to mediate, a truce is concluded between England and France,

On the 12th of October, Edward, his Queen, and the Black Prince, returned to England, after, as usual, a stormy passage, which induced him to expostulate in the following singular manner with the Virgin:—"Holy Mary, my Lady, what is it, that, going to France, the sea is calmed with a favouring wind, and all is prosperous to me; while, in returning to England, heavy misfortunes and adverse winds happen to me?"[2]

and Edward returns to England.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 137.
[2] Riley's *Walsingham*, vol. i. p. 271.

CHAPTER XVI.

ENGLAND'S PROSPERITY AFTER THE TAKING OF CALAIS—ITS DIMINUTION BY THE "BLACK DEATH," AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT PESTILENCE.

A.D. 1347. THE taking of Calais marks the close of a distinct period in Edward's personal history. He was still young, being only thirty-five years of age, and his son was still a mere youth, not having yet attained his eighteenth year. But, from that time the Prince took a much more active part than his father, in the warfare in which England was engaged; while the King, instead of passing a large portion of his time out of Great Britain, remained principally at home. He was far from being averse from war, or even disinclined to engage personally in combat; but it was the Prince who conquered at Poitiers, and who was the leader of the English armies in France and Spain, whilst domestic matters, of the highest social import, mainly occupied the King. The three dreadful plagues with which England was afflicted, the regulations relative to wages which were supposed to be rendered necessary by the consequent decrease of population, continued resistance to Papal aggressions, and numerous law reforms and commercial arrangements were among the matters which urgently called for Edward's personal care; and it was natural that he should leave to the son, of whose martial exploits he was justly proud, the glory to be obtained by success in war.

General character of the reign after Edward's return from Calais.

Domestic affairs.

A.D. 1347.

The truce made on the 28th of September, between England and France, put an end, for a time, to open warfare between the two countries; but there was, and indeed could be, no friendly feeling between the two Kings, so long as Edward continued to call himself King of France, and held possession of important territories in that kingdom.

The truce produces a hollow peace, but no friendship.

Although, therefore, there was no declared or general war between England and France for eight years, yet local hostilities were ceaselessly going on. The truce was renewed from time to time, and broken as often, but, principally, by the King of France, who never ceased in his efforts to pluck from his side the thorn which there remained so firmly fixed. To be an enemy of Edward, was reason enough to be deemed a friend of Philip. The social state of France was disorganised by the long continued warfare, and numerous bands of brigands attacked and pillaged the castles held by the English, for the sake of plunder, without direct authority from Philip; who, however, made himself responsible for these outrages by rewarding their perpetrators. One leader, named Bacon, in Languedoc, "who was always mounted on fine coursers, *doubles roncins*,[1] and fat palfreys, well-armed like a count, and clothed very richly," attacked the castle of Comborn, in the Limousin, took it by storm, killed all the garrison, and made the lord pay 24,000 crowns for his ransom. Philip bought the castle of him, and gave him an appointment in his household. Some of these robbers, however, were on the English side, and pillaged castles and villages belonging to the French, but without countenance from Edward, who

Brigands keep up warfare against the English in France;

Bacon's seizure of Comborn.

[1] *Roussin*, "thick-set stallion," "draught-horse" (Buchon).

A.D. 1347. seems never to have rewarded them for their misdeeds. "Those who were in Gascony, Poitou, and Saintonge, as well French as English," says Froissart, "never kept the truce, or respite, which was made between the two Kings, and they often had fine adventures, at one time the English, and another time the French. They became so rich, especially those who made themselves masters and captains of other brigands, that some of them were worth 60,000 crowns. Sometimes, and very often, they spied out a good town or a castle, a day or two's journey off; and then twenty or thirty brigands gathered themselves together, and marched day and night, by hidden paths, reached the village or castle at daybreak, and set it on fire and pillaged it."[1] In Brittany there was a brigand named Croquard, on the English side, who made himself as notorious as Bacon on that of the French for the extent of his depredations, and who fought on the side of the English at the famous "Battle of Thirty," four years afterwards. "Thus, the unhappy citizens had hardly more quiet and safety in peace than in war, and when they fell into the hands of partisans, they had more to fear from their cruelty and caprices, than they would have had from regular soldiers."[2]

Brigandage on the English side,

and thus the French suffer equally from both.

England, on the contrary, was full of exultation. The people were prosperous, and their King was honoured and sought after. The Imperial crown was offered to him on October 11th, A.D. 1347, on the death of his brother-in-law the Emperor Lewis, who had married Queen Philippa's elder sister Margaret. The Electors were very unwilling to accept as Emperor Charles IV. of Bohemia, whom the Pope had in vain

England, on the contrary, most prosperous and full of joy.

Edward offered the Imperial crown,

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 275.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 347.

tried to force on them the year before, and were so anxious that Edward should fill the throne, and so sure of his accepting it, that, on January 7th, 1348, they announced to Germany that he was elected. But the English Parliament was not favourable to the scheme, and the Margrave of Juliers came to England and represented to Edward the difficulties in which he would involve himself by accepting the Imperial crown, reminding him of the troubles it had brought on the head of the late Emperor, and setting before him the certainty of its interfering with his designs on France.[1] Edward accordingly wrote on the 10th of May[2] declining the offer. A.D. 1347. but refuses it.

Tournaments and sports of various kinds occupied and amused both King and people. Edward indulged in his favourite sport of hawking, which was protected with such care, that if any person found a stray "faulcon, tercelet, laner, or laneret (goshawk), or other hawk," and concealed it from the lord or his falconers, he was to suffer "imprisonment of two years, and yield to the lord the price of the hawk so concealed and carried away, if he have whereof, and if not, he shall the longer abide in prison."[3] This was not found sufficient to deter people from stealing hawks, and it was therefore, three years afterwards, ordained "that if any steal any hawk and the same carry away, it shall be done of him as of a thief that stealeth a horse or other thing."[4] Before the hawking season commenced, which was about the end of October, all bridges over the rivers and streams where the King went "to the river" were ordered to be repaired, and hawking without the King's special English sports: tournaments and hawking.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 349.
[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 161.
[3] Stat. 34 Ed. III. c. 22.
[4] Stat. 37 Ed. III. c. 19.

A.D. 1347. license was forbidden.[1] Such, too, was the general prosperity that, as Walsingham[2] says, "it seemed as if a new sun had arisen, on account of the abundance of peace, the plenty, and the glory of victories," and, he adds, "there was no woman who had not got garments, furs, feather-beds, and utensils from the spoils of Calais and other foreign cities," and "then began the English matrons to glorify themselves in the dresses of the matrons of Celtic Gaul, and as these grieved at the loss of their things, so those rejoiced in their acquisition." The love of tournaments at this period was very general, and the King continually found it necessary to issue proclamations to forbid his subjects to make jousts, or "seek adventures" without his special leave. A few years before, on February 3rd, A.D. 1344, he had ordered the Sheriffs of all the counties, if any tournaments did take place after his proclamation, to take an account of the names of all persons present and of the value of their horses and arms, and to send the same to his Chancery; on the 28th of July, he wrote to complain that his orders had not been obeyed, and to repeat them. It is not easy to understand, why the King should have been so determined to put down tournaments held without his special leave, unless it was, that the assembling together of a large body of armed men gave opportunities for riots, and even for disaffected persons to combine against him. Edward the Second had taken the same course, when the barons combined against Gaveston.

The spoils of France are spread over England.

Tournaments without leave forbidden.

Tournaments; Tournaments were, however, frequently held by order of the King, no less than nineteen being appointed to take place from October 14th, 1347, to

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 141. [2] Edn. 1863, p. 272.

May 1st, 1348. Eight of these took place at Westminster, and some of them lasted from a fortnight to three weeks.[1] The establishment of the Order of the Garter, combined with the flush of victory, seems to have given a fresh zest to this diversion, which always had a great attraction for the ladies, who were proud of witnessing the gallantry of their admirers, delighted with their splendid attire, and glad of an opportunity of displaying their own charms, heightened by the care which they bestowed on their apparel. Some of them, however, gave great scandal by the levity of their conduct. "In those days," says Knighton[2] the Canon of Leicester with virtuous indignation, "arose a great rumour and clamour among the people, that wherever there was a tournament, there came a great concourse of ladies, of the most costly and beautiful, but not of the best of the kingdom, sometimes forty or fifty in number, as if they were a part of the tournament, in diverse and wonderful male apparel, in divided tunics, one part of one colour and one of another, with short caps and bands in the manner of cords wound round the head, and zones well bound round with gold or silver, and in pouches across their bodies knives called daggers, and thus they proceeded on chosen coursers or other well groomed horses to the place of tournament, and so expended and devastated their goods, and vexed their bodies with scurrilous wantonness, that the rumour of the people sounded everywhere; and thus they neither feared God, nor blushed at the chaste voice of the people." The nobles attending these tournaments set the example of gorgeous clothing,

A.D. 1347.

attended by loose women.

[1] Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. i. p. 11.

[2] Col. 2597.

A.D. 1347. and the whole scene must have been one of the greatest gaiety. "Vizards were provided for the King, Earls, Barons, Knights, and Ladies, for the jousts at Canterbury." A charge was entered in the King's accounts "for making fourteen tunics and as many hoods of short blue cloth, for the jousts of Bury;" another "for making a doublet of yellow and blue velvet, for Lionel the King's son, against the jousts of Windsor." The King himself was gorgeously arrayed, for there is a charge "for making a harness for the King's body, powdered with roses, and other work in silk, for the King's jousts at Lichfield;" and after the establishment of the Order of the Garter a payment was made "for making twelve garters of blue, embroidered with gold and silk, and having the motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, and for making other equipments for the King's jousts at Eltham." The above are samples of the style in which magnificent dresses were provided for these occasions.[1]

Gorgeous apparel.

Extravagance in dress of the clergy as well as laity.

Extravagance in dress was, however, by no means confined to the laity; the prevailing excesses of the clergy, as to garments and trappings, gave abominable scandal to the people. Men, it was said, holding dignities, parsonages, prebends, benefices with cure of souls, thought scorn of tonsure—which was considered a mark of separation from the laity and of dedication to the service of religion—and allowed their hair to hang down on their shoulders. They loved to apparel themselves like soldiers rather than clerics, with an upper jump remarkably short and wide; they had long hanging sleeves not covering the elbows; their hair was curled and powdered; they wore caps

[1] Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. i. pp. 12–15.

with tippets of a wonderful length; rings other than those of office on their fingers; had long beards; were girt with costly girdles, to which were attached purses enamelled with figures and sculptured; had knives hanging at their sides to look like swords; their shoes were chequered with red and green, exceedingly long and variously pinked; and it was added that, moreover, they had ornamented cruppers to their saddles, and baubles like horns hanging down from their horses' necks, and that their cloaks were furred at the edge contrary to canonical sanction.[1] A.D. 1347.

The performance of plays a popular pastime of the nobles.

Plays—rather, of course, of the character of shows or spectacles than of dramas—performed by the King and his courtiers were also a constant amusement in those days, at which gay and grotesque dresses formed an important feature of the entertainment. At the "King's Plays," performed at Guildford during the Christmas of 1347, there "were used eighty-four tunics of buckram of divers colours, forty-two vizards of divers forms, twenty-eight crests, fourteen painted cloaks, fourteen dragons' heads, fourteen white tunics, fourteen peacocks' heads with wings, fourteen tunics painted with peacocks' eyes, fourteen swans' heads with their wings, fourteen tunics ornamented with stars of beaten gold and silver, fourteen likenesses of women's faces, fourteen likenesses of men's faces with beards, fourteen crests with mountains and conies, fourteen dragons' heads, twelve men's heads, and as many elephants' heads, twelve men's heads with bats' wings, twelve wild men's heads, seventeen virgins' heads." For other occasions rich and singular dresses were provided. "Five hoods of long white cloth, worked with blue men dancing," were made for the

Richness of apparel greatly indulged in.

[1] Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. iv. p. 64.

A.D. 1347. King to give as presents; also "three harnesses, two of which were of white velvet, worked with blue garters, and diapered throughout with wild men;" and for the King himself, "a harness of white buckram, inlaid with silver, namely a tunic and shield, with the King's motto, *Hay, Hay, the Wythe Swan, by Gode's soule I am thy man.*"[1]

Establishment of the Order of the Garter.

It was at this time that the famous Order of the Garter was finally established. It is stated by Froissart that the Order was established in A.D. 1344, when Edward on January 1st proclaimed a "Round Table" at Windsor,[2] but this is evidently not quite correct. It is certain that the Companions were not chosen, nor the details of the Order settled, until nearly four years later. "It is indisputable that the Prince of Wales was one of the original founders, and that, before he became a Companion, he must have been knighted."[3] Now the Prince of Wales was not knighted until after the landing of his father in Normandy in July 1346, whence he did not return till the October following. It is therefore tolerably certain that the Order was not established till after that time. The King "may nevertheless have founded the Order at the time of his holding the 'Round Table' at Windsor, but have waited till the College of Windsor, which was then building and which may be considered as the domicile of the Order, was ready for its use, before he chose the Companions, appointed the habits by which they were to be distinguished, and finally organised the fraternity." It is, however, nearly certain that the

[1] Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. i. p. 15.
[2] Buchon's ed. vol. i. p. 179.
[3] Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. i. p. 10.

Order was completely established soon after the King's return, for the King's jousts at Eltham, for which "the twelve blue garters" already mentioned were made, took place towards the close of 1347.[1] A.D. 1347.

What was the origin of the Order is another vexed question. The popular story is that the Countess of Salisbury, with whom the King was said to be in love, dropped her garter at court, and that on some of the courtiers making jests on the subject, the King picked up the garter and fastened it on his knee, saying, "Hony soit qui mal y pense," and then resolved to establish the Order. That this incident happened to the Countess of Salisbury is improbable, since, as already shown, there is no good evidence of the King having fallen in love with her; but that such an incident did happen, and perhaps to the Queen, is not unlikely.[2] The story is very old; the earliest authority for it is Polydore Vergil, who came to England during the next century and who (more than 150 years after) gave a minute account of the circumstances. It is remarkable that it is not mentioned by Froissart, but it is repeated by Holinshed and others, and is supposed by some writers to be as old as the reign of Henry VI.[3] It is well observed by Sir Harris Nicolas, that "It does not follow, however, nor indeed is it probable, that this incident was the primary cause of the institution. If, as is almost beyond a doubt, Edward had previously determined to form a knightly band, in imitation of the Round Table of King Arthur, and had not fixed upon any

[1] Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. i. pp. 9–13.

[2] See *ante* remarks on this subject on the occasion of de Clisson's visit to England in 1342.

[3] Nicolas' *Knighthood*, vol. i. p. 18.

A.D. 1347. particular ensign by which they should be distinguished, he may reasonably be supposed to have adopted one arising from accident, but felicitously suited to his purpose."[1]

Gaieties and ceremonies were, however, not the only matters that occupied the time of the King and Parliament. Domestic concerns of great interest also demanded their consideration, among which one of the chief was the keeping of the "peace of the nation"—a matter of great practical importance to the well-being of the whole community. It concerned the administration of justice throughout the kingdom, especially in the minor cases of every-day occurrence, and the means which were provided for that object led, in the course of the reign, to the establishment of those whom we now call county Justices of the Peace.

Legislation for "keeping the peace of the nation" and for the administration of justice.

In the reign of Edward I., the state of the country being generally unsafe, the Statute of Winchester was passed, with the object of rendering the administration of justice more certain.[2] The chief remedies were the punishment of jurors (or rather Grand-Jurors), on whom, as in Anglo-Saxon times,[3] the presentment of offenders rested, for neglect of their duties; and the fixing on the county, with greater stringency, the ancient responsibility of a neighbourhood for crimes committed in it.[4] This statute embodied the great system of police in those days, and on its full execution the domestic peace of the whole kingdom was thought to depend. Later in the same reign, the commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* called

[1] Nicolas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. i. p. 18.
[2] See *Lectures on the History of England*, vol. i. p. 252.
[3] Ibid. pp. 110, 122, 126.
[4] See Reeve, vol. ii. p. 214.

Traylbaston[1] was instituted for the punishment of breaches of that statute, and restraining other offences.[2] A.D. 1347.

In the beginning of the present reign it was ordained, by stat. 1 Ed. III. c. 16, that "for the better keeping of the peace, in every county, good men should be assigned to keep the peace;"[3] but this plan was evidently insufficient for the purpose, for only five years afterwards, just after the fall of Mortimer, so great was the insecurity of travellers in England, that it was a common practice for robbers to seize persons of all kinds—whether judges, priests, or others—and imprison them until they had paid a handsome ransom for their release. The chief men in the various counties, were therefore appointed as guardians of the peace, and were directed to assemble the people by *Hu and Crie*, to pursue the robbers "from vill to vill, from hundred to hundred, and from county to county;" and it was further provided that the King himself should go "from county to county" to see that these guardians did their duty.[4] In 1344 it was further provided, by stat. 18 Ed. III. st. 2. c. 3, that "two or three of the best reputation in the counties shall be assigned Keepers of the Peace by the King's commission, and, with other wise and learned in the law, shall hear and determine felonies and trespasses, and inflict punishment." The establishment of these Keepers of the Peace was considered so beneficial by the people, that it was preferred to more ancient institutions;[5] and when, at the Parliament which met

Keepers of the Peace appointed,

[1] See *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 325.

[2] See Reeve, vol. ii. p. 468.

[3] The origin of the office of Conservator, or Keeper of the Peace, may however be traced to the reign of Richard I. See Hoveden (edn. Savile), 430 b. line 40 *et seq.*

[4] Rot. Parl. vi. Ed. III. 5.

[5] Reeve, vol. ii. p. 471.

A.D. 1347. in January 1347, the Commons were asked for their advice as to the keeping of the peace, they recommended[1] that six persons in every county, of whom two were to be *des plus Grantz*, two knights, and two men of the law, should have power to hear and determine felonies and trespasses, and that all Courts of Traylbaston should cease. These Keepers of the Peace did not have the full powers of our county magistrates, and were not called Justices, as at present, until fourteen years afterwards, when they were so designated in stat. 36 Ed. III. st. 1. c. 12. By this act they were bound to hold sessions four times a year, and their powers have since been increased from time to time by later Acts of Parliament.[2]

and greatly approved of,

but not called Justices of the Peace till 1362. Quarter sessions.

England's joy turned into sorrow by the breaking out of the "Black Death."

The gay and prosperous state of England, was soon, however, turned into gloom and misery, by a grievous scourge, which afflicted the land more heavily than has been its lot either before or since, and which produced results that left their mark for centuries. This was the dreadful plague called the Black Death, which, after ravaging Europe, appeared at this time in England.

Its origin and course.

The first appearance in Europe of this unparalleled disease was at Constantinople in 1347, whither it was brought from the northern coasts of the Black Sea. It spread thence to Cyprus, Sicily, Marseilles, and some of the seaports of Italy; the remaining islands of the Mediterranean, particularly Sardinia, Corsica, and Majorca, were visited in succession. In January 1348, it appeared in Avignon and in other cities in the south of France; also in the north of Italy, and

[1] Rolls of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 174.

[2] Reeve, vol. ii. pp. 472–474.

in Spain. In the same year it visited Germany and England, but it did not break out in this country until August, and it then advanced so slowly that a period of three months elapsed before it reached London. The north of Europe was attacked in 1349, but the pestilence did not reach Russia till 1351.[1] A.D. 1347.

Its contagious character.

Such was the course of this frightful plague. It was highly contagious, and, as Hecker says,[2] "the pestilential breath of the sick, who spat blood, caused a terrible contagion far and near, for even the vicinity of those who had fallen ill of plague was certain death, so that parents abandoned their infected children, and all the ties of kindred were dissolved." The same writer,[3] who is however greatly inclined towards "astral and telluric influences and an organic life in the system of the universe,"[4] also states that the plague was preceded by great atmospheric disturbances, deluges of rain, and earthquakes.

Its symptoms.

The symptoms of this frightful disease were principally inflammatory boils and swellings of the glands, "such as break out in no other febrile disease," and black patches all over the skin from whence it was called The Black Death. The disease was also often accompanied by spitting or vomiting of blood, and those who were thus afflicted, sometimes died immediately, but never lived more than two days. Towards the end of the plague many lives were saved by opening the boils.[5]

The mortality caused by this pestilence in this coun-

[1] Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages* (translated by Dr. Babington for the Sydenham Society, 8vo. London, 1844), p. 20.

[2] Ibid. p. 4.

[3] Ibid. pp. 13–16.

[4] Hecker, Translator's Preface, p. xxiv.

[5] Ibid. p. 4.

A.D. 1347. try, and its effects, have now to be adverted to. The

Extent of the mortality.

population of England and Wales at the beginning of the fourteenth century may probably have been about three or four millions,[1] and of these there is but little doubt that more than one-half died of the pestilence. Parliament was from time to time prorogued, and proclamations issued, bearing witness to its direful and increasing prevalence.[2] On the 1st of January, 1349, Parliament was prorogued on account of the plague having broken out in Westminster;[3] on the 10th of March its meeting was again postponed because of the great increase of the plague;[4] on the 1st of December it was found necessary to forbid people to go out of the country to escape the pestilence.[5] "Whereas no small part of our people of England is dead of the pestilence," was the preamble of the proclamation. On the 18th of June, 1350, an important regulation relative to wages was made, "because a great part of our people is dead of the plague."[6]

Means for estimating the extent of the mortality.

But there are better means than vague statements for estimating the extent of the mortality. It is known for a certainty what were the exact numbers of various classes of persons who died during the pre-

[1] See an interesting article on "England before and after the Black Death," by Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers, in the third volume of the "Fortnightly Review;" and others on the same subject, drawing different conclusions, by Mr. Seebohm, in the second and third volumes of the same "Review." It is of course impossible to ascertain, with any approach to certainty, what was the population of England at this time, but we may form some idea of the extent of the mortality, as we have tolerable means of knowing the proportions which some of the classes stricken by the plague bore to each other.

[2] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 225 (4). [3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 180.
[4] Ibid. p. 182. [5] Ibid. p. 191. [6] Ibid. p. 198.

valence of the pestilence, but as it is not known how many of these deaths were actually caused by the pestilence, a deduction from the total number of deaths must be made in order to arrive at the probable number of those who fell victims to the plague. In some places a large proportion of the priests died, and the mortality was probably much greater among the poorer classes. In the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire, it is known that considerably more than half of the priests died; in Nottinghamshire, not quite so many. In the diocese of Norwich there were about 1,500 parishes, of which no less than 1,000 were void of incumbents. In the Abbey of Croxton in Lincolnshire, all died except the abbot and prior.[1] A record preserved in the Guildhall at Norwich says: "In this year (1348) was such a death in Norwich that there died of the pestilence 57,374 beside religious and beggars." Twenty churches in Norwich alone were suffered to fall into ruins for want of people to fill them. "In Bristol," says Seyers, "the plague raged to such a degree that the living were scarce able to bury the dead; the grass grew several inches high in High Street and Broad Street."[2] A.D. 1347.

In order to provide a burial-place for those who died in London, Sir Walter de Maunay purchased in 1348 "a piece of ground called Spittle Croft (for that it belonged to the master and brethren of S. Bartholomew Spittle), containing thirteen acres and a rod, without the barres of West Smithfield, in the which place in the yeare following was buried more than 50,000 persons, as is affirmed by the King's charters Burial-place in Smithfield.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 235.

[2] Seebohm in *Fortnightly Review* vol. ii. pp. 157 and 158.

A.D. 1347. which I," says Stowe, "have seene, and also by an inscription fixed on a stone cross in the same place."[1] Notwithstanding Stowe's statement, it is probable that the numbers were greatly exaggerated; but the facts above mentioned afford some help towards guessing at the extent of the calamity.

The most eminent victims.

Among the most bewailed victims of this dreadful pestilence, although many maidens in the full bloom of their youth must have perished, the Princess Joan must not be forgotten. She was betrothed to Don Pedro, eldest son of the King of Castile, and sailed to France on her way to her affianced husband. A hundred bowmen accompanied her in the ships; on board her own vessel was a Spanish minstrel, sent over from Castile[2] by her future lord to bear her company on the voyage and divert her with the songs that henceforth were to be her national songs, and all the pomps and ceremonies of that gorgeous age were enacted in her honour. But her hopes were fruitless. She landed at Bordeaux, caught the plague, and died; thus adding one more to the disappointments met with by Edward in his projects for the marriage of his children.

Effects of the plague.

An endeavour must now be made to trace the social effects of the plague. Wiclif, who was an Oxford student in 1348, was so impressed with its serious consequences that he wrote a book called "The Last Age of the Church," in which he predicted the end of the world in 1400 at latest. Boccaccio, in the Introduction to the Decamerone, gives an interesting

[1] Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 246. In 1371, Sir Walter de Maunay "caused upon the same ground a chappell to be builded and founded, the same to be an house of Charter House Monkes" (Carthusians); now the Charter House School.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 157.

account of the effects of the plague in Italy on individual character; and, as human nature is the same everywhere, it is probable that the same effects were produced in England. Some, he says, lived temperately, avoided excesses of all kinds, made parties, and shut themselves up from the world, eating and drinking moderately of the best, and diverting themselves with music and such other entertainments as they might have within doors, never listening to anything from without to make them uneasy; others went about, drinking and revelling, from tavern to tavern, while others walked about with odours and nosegays to smell to; but selfishness prevailed with almost all.[1] The sick were avoided and neglected, and the dead were left to be followed to their graves by hired strangers. A.D. 1347. Licentiousness.

While, however, on the one hand there was among many a great demoralisation, there was, among others, a great exaltation of superstitious feeling. A remarkable religious Order, called the Flagellants, or the Brethren of the Cross, now arose, or rather sprang into renewed energy, for they had existed in the previous century. They took on themselves the repentance of the people for the sins they had committed, offered prayers and supplications for the averting of the plague, and took the name of Flagellants from their Rise of the Flagellants. Superstition.

[1] See Thucydides II. 53 for a similar account of the plague at Athens. "So they resolved to take their enjoyment quickly, and with a sole view to gratification; regarding their lives and their riches alike as things of a day. As for taking trouble about what was thought honourable, no one was forward to do it; deeming it uncertain whether, before he had attained to it, he would not be cut off; but everything that was immediately pleasant, and that which was conducive to it by any means whatever, this was laid down to be both honourable and expedient."

A.D. 1348. carrying knotted cords fitted with iron spikes with which they scourged themselves. They originated in Hungary, spread thence into Germany,[1] and in 1349 appeared in England. They were covered with a linen cloth from the loins to the heels, but the rest of their body was naked; on their head they wore caps with a red cross before and behind. Thus they walked through the towns in solemn procession, singing and chanting, and scourging themselves, and from time to time prostrating themselves on the ground, with the hands extended in imitation of the Holy Cross, when one of their number scourged them as they lay.[2] Their rule of discipline was very strict. They were not permitted to enter a house without invitation, were forbidden to speak with women, and performed some other penance twice a day. In the morning and evening they went abroad in pairs, singing psalms, amid the ringing of bells, and when they reached the place of flagellation they lay down in a circle in different positions according to the nature of the crime they had committed—the adulterer with his face to the ground, the perjurer on one side holding up three of his fingers, and so on, and they were then scourged by the master, who afterwards, in words of a prescribed form, ordered them to rise.[3]

Accusations against the Jews.

The superstition engendered by fear of the plague produced other effects. The Jews were accused of being its cause. It was said that they poisoned the wells, having "received the poison by sea from remote parts, and also prepared it themselves from

[1] Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, p. 34.

[2] Avesbury, p. 179.

[3] "Stant uf durch der reinen Martelere;
Und hüte dich vor der Sündenmere."—Hecker, p. 38.

spiders, owls and other venomous animals." Many thousands of them were consequently put to death. A.D. 1348.

The most important result, however, produced in England by the great mortality, was the scarcity of labour, and the consequent rise in wages and fall in the value of land. "The sheep and cattle strayed through the fields and corn, and there was none who could drive them," says Knighton. Labourers being scarce, they naturally demanded higher wages, and the King and Parliament then engaged with them in that long struggle between labour and capital, between employers and employed, which continued till the end of the reign; was one of the causes of the Wat Tyler rebellion; has never since ceased; which never can and never should be attempted to be put down by legislation; and, which can only be prevented from breaking out into an open war, ruinous to each, between the two classes, by cultivating a mutual good feeling, and mutual appreciation of each other's interest. It is remarkable, that at this period it was the employers who combined to keep down wages by the terrors of legislation, whereas in modern times it is the employed who endeavour to raise them by intimidation; but the history of the measures taken immediately after the Black Death, and repeated, as will be related in the course of this History, from time to time throughout the reign, will show, that the endeavour to fix and keep down wages by criminatory law, is as futile and mischievous an attempt, as that of trying to raise them by terror.

Fall in the value of land, and other most important consequences of the plague.

Endeavours of employers to keep down wages by legislation.

The first step was taken on June 18th, 1350, when the King issued the following proclamation. "Because," he said, "a great part of the people, and principally of labourers and servants, is dead of the plague,

The King's proclamation respecting wages and workmen.

A.D. 1348. some, seeing the need of their lords and the scarcity of servants, are unwilling to serve unless they receive excessive salaries, and others, are rather begging in idleness, than supporting themselves by their labour, we have consulted with the prelates and nobles and other skilled persons assisting us, and have ordained that any able-bodied man or woman, of our kingdom of England, of whatever condition, free or serf, under sixty years of age, not living of merchandise, nor following a trade, nor having of his own wherewithal to live, either his own land, with the culture of which he could occupy himself, and not serving another, shall, if so required, serve another for such wages as were the custom in the twentieth year of our reign, or five or six years before." The proclamation then went on, to enact punishments on those who should refuse to work on these conditions, and also on those who should offer higher wages; to order that fish, flesh and fowl should be sold at a reasonable price, giving a moderate and not excessive profit; and lastly it provided that "whereas many strong beggars refuse to work, and live as long as they can by begging, and sometimes by stealing and other wickednesses, no one, under pain of imprisonment, shall give anything to such persons under colour of piety or charity, or shall presume to nourish them in their idleness, so that they may be obliged to work."[1] The proclamation of course failed of its intended effect, and, therefore, two years afterwards, on the "Petition of the Commonalty," the Statute of Labourers (25th Edward III., stat. 2nd) was passed, making further regulations on the subject. It was ordained that labourers

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 198, Rot. Parl. 25 Ed. III. (47), and Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 311.

might be allowed to serve by the year or by some other usual term and not by the day; the wages of mowers, reapers, threshers and others were fixed; and labourers were to bring their implements openly in their hands to the merchant towns, and there be hired in a common place and not secretly.[1] A.D. 1348. The Statute of Labourers passed,

The wages of artificers in various other trades were also regulated, and it was ordered that the labourers should be sworn to observe these ordinances and that "those which refuse to make such oath, or to perform that that they be sworn to, shall be put in the stocks, and that stocks be made in every town betwixt this and the Feast of Pentecost." It was also ordained that "if any of the said servants, labourers, or artificers, do flee from one county to another because of this ordinance, the sheriffs of the county where such fugitive persons shall be found, shall do them to be taken at the commandment of the justices of the counties from whence they shall flee, and bring them to the chief gaol of the said county, there to abide till the next sessions of the same justices."[2]

It was not to be expected, even in those days when the population was so small, that such regulations could be generally enforced; after vain efforts to enforce their observation by the issuing of proclamations,[3] it became necessary nine years afterwards to enact another statute (Stat. 34 Ed. III.) to the same effect, but with other conditions. Labourers continually escaped from one county to another in the hope of getting better wages; it was therefore ordained, that a labourer, when thus caught, should be but cannot be properly enforced. Stat. 34 Ed. III.

[1] Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 311.
[2] Ibid. pp. 311–313.
[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 459.

A.D. 1350. imprisoned "till he will justify himself, and have made gree to the party (from whose service he fled), and nevertheless for the falsity he shall be burnt in the forehead, with an iron formed and made to this letter F, in token of falsity."[1] The King himself found that labourers left his service because they could get better wages elsewhere, and therefore issued a proclamation, forbidding their employment by other persons, and repeating that no higher wages should be given than had been prescribed by Act of Parliament.[2] Other stringent conditions were also imposed, in the vain attempt to settle how much should be given or taken for a day's work. From time to time fresh ordinances were passed with the same object, but under somewhat varying circumstances, an account of which will be given at the time of their occurrence. It is needless here to pursue the subject any further, except to repeat, that the labourers combined together to resist these unjust attempts to deprive them of fair wages; and that the habit of combination and resistance to interference with the rights of labour thus engendered, had much to do with the rebellion under Wat Tyler, which broke out in the following reign.[3]

Labourers forbidden to seek for higher wages.

The pestilence had produced a similar scarcity of labour in France, and the Government there took similar measures to put down the consequent rise of prices in goods and labour.[4]

[1] Statutes of the Realm, vol. i. p. 367. [2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 615.

[3] See Mr. Seebohm's article on the "Black Death," already referred to.

[4] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 388.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROLONGATION OF TRUCE—TREACHEROUS ATTEMPT TO RECOVER CALAIS—DEATH OF PHILIP VI., AND ACCESSION OF JOHN.

THE greater part of 1348, was occupied with correspondence relative to the truce, which had been made at the end of the previous September, after the taking of Calais. Edward was provoked, by the procrastinations of the Pope, and the duplicity of Philip. The Pope sent Edward no answer to his communications; and Edward heard, that Philip was actually making preparations for the invasion of England.[1] He resolved therefore to be trifled with no longer, and summoned a Parliament to meet in April 1349, to consider what should be done.[2] The Pope now became anxious, and begged Edward to renew the peace negotiations;[3] at last, it was settled, on the 5th of September, that the truce should be prolonged till the end of October 1349, and it was shortly afterwards agreed, that plenipotentiaries, from both kings, should meet at some place between Calais and Boulogne, to endeavour to convert the truce into a permanent

A.D. 1348.

Negotiations relative to truce,

and to a permanent peace.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 151.

[2] Rot. Parl. 22 Ed. III. (M. 1, No. 4.) At the Parliament held in the previous year, the Commons, in answer to the King's request that they would advise him as to the war, declared that they were not able to do so, and desired therefore to be excused, believing that the King would be best advised by his nobles and Council, and that they agreed to confirm and establish what the nobles and Council should determine. Rot. Parl. 21 Ed. III., m. 5.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 161.

A.D. 1349. peace.[1] There was, however, so great delay in doing this, that on the 1st of October, the King ordered various merchant vessels to be discharged of their cargoes, with a view to their employment in his own service, and instantly prepared for war. A few days afterwards, he commanded large bodies of armed men to be got ready to go abroad with him immediately. He then proceeded to Sandwich, and made ready to cross the sea;[2] but the French, probably alarmed at Edward's earnestness, gave up their procrastinations, and on the 13th of November, an agreement was signed, to prolong the truce till the 1st of September following.[3]

The Parliament, which met on the 31st of March 1349, did not confine its attention to the question of peace or war, but also asserted the important principle of self taxation. It was not without reason that it did so; for the King, like his predecessors, was frequently in the habit of levying taxes without consent of Parliament—levying them in the form of pre-emption of wool, and from particular classes, such as the merchants, all of which proceedings were contrary to law. The Commons therefore petitioned, "that henceforth no imposition, tallage, nor charge whatsoever, should be laid on them by the Privy Council without their grant and consent in Parliament, and that the aid they then granted should not be turned into wool, nor levied in any way except that in which it was granted, and that, for the future, no such grant should be made by the merchants, as it is a grievance and charge of the whole commonalty and not of the merchants only."[4] They also prayed that their pe-

Petition of Parliament against taxation without their consent.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 170. [2] Ibid. 174–176. [3] Ibid. p. 177.

[4] "q̃ desore nulle imposition, taillage, ne charge d'aprest, n'en

titions might be answered without delay, and complained that answers were frequently changed after they had been formally given. The King, Prelates, and "Grantz," or nobles, had taken upon themselves to alter the answers and assent jointly given, when the Commons had retired from the Parliament. From this, it is clear, that the Commons had then by no means attained an equality with the Barons; but their complaint is of importance, as evidence that they were struggling for greater power.[1] A.D. 1349.

Completion of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster.

It is of interest to remark that on the 6th of August in this year, the King announced the completion of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, "nobly begun by our ancestors," and provided for daily and nightly worship therein.[2]

Attempts to convert the truce into a permanent peace.

Peace, so far as treaties could secure it, now reigned between England and France; during 1349, various attempts were made, to convert the truce into a permanent peace. The plague had desolated England and France, and both Kings were therefore anxious to put an end to the war. On the 10th of March,[3]

autre quecumq̃ manere, soit mys p le Prive Conseil ñre Seign̄ le Roi sauntz lour grante & assent en Parlement, . . nientmeyns, p issint q̃ l'Eide orea granter, ne soit en nulle manere tournez en Leines, ne d'aprest n'en value, n'en autre manere soit levez ne plus hastrement q'en la fourme q̃ele serra grantez, & q̃ desoreenavant nulle tiele Graunte se face par les Marchantz, desicome ce est soulement en grevance & charge de la Commune & noun pas des Marchantz."—*Rolls of Parliament*, vol. ii. p. 200.

[1] See Parry's *Parliaments and Councils of England*, p. 120, note, and Report on the Dignity of a Peer, vol. i. p. 320.

[2] "The most exquisitely beautiful specimen of English art left us (before its destruction by the great fire) by the middle ages." Fergusson's *History of Architecture*, vol. ii. p. 56, and Rymer, vol. iii. p. 166.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 182.

A.D. 1349. the very day on which the meeting of Parliament was again postponed on account of the increase of the pestilence, Edward ordered his ambassadors to go to Boulogne, as proposed in the previous year, to meet those from Philip, with the object of settling the terms of an actual peace between the two countries. As might have been expected, they were utterly unable to agree as to the conditions; it was therefore arranged that the truce should be prolonged once more. Whit-Sunday, 1350, was to be the limit of its duration, and the Pope was again appointed as arbiter.[1]

Further negotiations as to peace.

State of Flanders.

Flanders had been included in the previous truce, but the two great parties into which the Flemings were divided could not agree together, and foreign aid was invoked, in a way that threatened a fresh outbreak of war between England and France. The nobles could not resign themselves to the domination of the three manufacturing towns, and called in Philip to their aid. By his advice, Count Louis went to Bruges and endeavoured to detach that city from Ypres and Ghent, which remained firm to Edward, by promising to grant it special privileges. At length, however, on the 10th of December, 1348,[2] a treaty was concluded between Edward and Count Louis, in compliance with which, Louis, in the most minute and solemn manner, pardoned his subjects—though it was he, the oppressor, and not those who stood up for their rights, who needed pardon—promised to respect their privileges, and confirmed their alliance with England. But, true to his inborn perfidy, no sooner had Louis returned to Ghent, than he endeavoured to inflame one party against another, and succeeded, in exciting the fullers and others, against

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 184 [2] Ibid. p. 178.

the weavers, who had always been his chief opponents. A tumult arose, 600 of the weavers were killed in a battle in the streets, and many others were massacred by Louis' orders, who thus put down all opposition, whereby for a time "order reigned" in Flanders.[1] A.D. 1349.

Before the expiration of the truce between France and England, renewed on the 2nd of May, Philip was guilty of a most treacherous infraction of it. An attempt was made to obtain possession of Calais, by bribing the governor. There is certainly no direct evidence that Philip was a party to the plot, but it is very improbable that it was planned without his sanction.

Attempt to obtain possession of Calais by treachery.

One Geoffry de Chargny offered Emeric de Pavia, a Genoese, the Governor of Calais, 20,000 crowns of gold, to betray it to him. He tempted him because "he was a Lombard, and the Lombards are by nature greedy."[2] In consequence of the truce, there was free ingress into Calais, and De Chargny availed himself of this liberty to confer personally with the governor. "But the said Genoese, unwilling to betray the King of England, his lord, whose bread he eat, and who trusted in him greatly, but yet wishing to put the promised gold into his purse, spoke peacefully with Geoffry and entered into his plot."[3] It is impossible to decide whether Emeric informed Edward of what was intended, or whether the King heard of it through others, and Froissart says, "I know not how it was;" but it is certain, that Edward became acquainted with the plot, and arranged with Emeric to defeat it. It

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 325.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 276. Froissart calls Emeric a Lombard, while Avesbury designates him as a Genoese.

[3] Avesbury, p. 180.

A.D. 1349. was settled that Emeric should admit De Chargny into Calais on the night of the 31st of December, 1349,[1] and shortly before that time Edward set sail from Dover with 300 men-at-arms, and 600 archers; entering into Calais, he and his troops lay concealed therein.[2] Soon after midnight, De Chargny arrived near Calais, and sent forward two knights to ascertain whether he might proceed in safety. Finding that Emeric was ready to admit him, De Chargny crossed the river, by the bridge of Nieulay, and came close to Calais. He then sent forward Oudard de Renty, with twelve knights and a hundred men-at-arms, to deliver the gold to the governor and take possession of the castle, knowing that if he had possession of the castle he was sure of the town. De Renty and his companions were admitted by a drawbridge,[3] which was raised again after their entry, and Emeric then asked for the money. It was handed to him in a sack, and he was asked to count the gold if he wished. "I have not time," he said; "it will soon be day." He then shut the door of the room and said to De Renty, "Wait here, I will open to you the master tower." He then drew the bolt, the door was opened, and the astonished Frenchmen saw they were betrayed. The King of England and his son Edward,

Attempt on Calais.

[1] Barnes, Carte, and other historians, place this attempt on Calais at the end of 1348, but Avesbury (p. 180) places it at the end of the following year, and so does Walsingham (p. 273, ed. 1863), and Buchon, the very painstaking editor of Froissart, comes (pp. 276, 280) to the conclusion that it took place on the night between the 31st December, 1349, and the 1st January, 1350; or between that of the 1st and 2nd January, 1350 (according to Avesbury).

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 277.

[3] Avesbury, p. 182.

Sir Walter de Maunay, and about 200 soldiers, were lying in wait in the chamber, and no sooner was the door opened than they rushed on them with swords drawn and hatchets in their hands, crying out "Maunay to the rescue!" The French surrendered, and then, having placed his prisoners in safety, Edward and his party mounted their horses and rode out towards the Boulogne gate, where they found De Chargny and his companions. He had been impatiently waiting the return of De Renty, saying, "What a long while this Lombard is! He is making us die of cold." "In the name of God," said Pepin de Were, "the Lombards are malicious people. He is looking over your florins to see that there are none that are false, and that they are all there." It was now near daybreak. When Edward appeared, De Chargny saw that he was betrayed, and, flight being impossible, he and his companions made ready to fight. There being no room to fight on horseback, they dismounted; Edward, and his men, did the same; but having heard that De Chargny had posted a body of men at the bridge of Nieulay, Edward sent some of his men there, to guard the approaches to Calais, and prevent a relief. Six banners and 300 bowmen were sent to this point; on their way, between Calais and the bridge, they encountered the cross-bowmen of St. Omer and Aires, who formed part of De Chargny's troops, and killed above 120 of them. The bridge was held for some time, but at last the French fled. In the meantime, Edward, "raging like a wild boar,"[1] was fighting at the castle gate. He did not make himself known, but both he and his son fought like simple knights, under the banner of Sir Walter de Maunay.

A.D. 1349. Defeat of the attempt.

[1] Walsingham, p. 274.

A.D. 1349. The King attacked Eustace de Ribaumont, and fought so fiercely with him, that, as Froissart says, "it was right pleasant to see," and "for fighting well and valiantly Messire Eustace de Ribaumont surpassed them all." At last the Frenchmen yielded, and De Chargny and many others gave themselves up as prisoners. Among these was De Ribaumont, who surrendered to the King, without knowing what gallant enemy he had encountered.

Gallant conduct of Edward.

The French are defeated.

The King entertained the prisoners at supper; and they then learnt, for the first time, that it was King Edward who had fought with them. After supper, he addressed a few words of reproach to De Chargny; but, turning to De Ribaumont, he complimented him on his bravery, and, taking off from his own head a chaplet of pearls, placed it on that of De Ribaumont, begging him to wear it out of love to himself, and then gave him his freedom. Shortly after this the King returned to England.

The King's treatment of his prisoners.

His return to England.

There can be but little doubt, that this attempt on Calais, was a gross violation on the part of Philip himself of the conditions of the truce; and that De Chargny acted with his connivance at least; but, nevertheless, Edward did not declare the truce to be broken. He was proud of the personal part he had taken in the fighting, and England was too much desolated by the plague to be called on for large supplies of soldiers.[1]

Such, however, was the enmity between the two countries, that, a few months after Edward's return from Calais, he felt it necessary, notwithstanding the truce, to prepare for war. The truce was about to expire, the 16th of May being the day to which it had

[1] See Sismondi, vol. x. p. 362.

been prolonged; there was no symptom of success in the attempts for its renewal, and therefore, on the 20th of March, 1350, Edward ordered soldiers to be got ready to go abroad with him, and a few weeks afterwards, on May 1st, issued instructions for the assemblage of ships to convey them. Still, however, Edward did not relax in his efforts to bring about a peace, and on the 15th of May, the very day before the expiration of the truce, he again sent ambassadors to France with that object. At last, on the 13th of June, it was agreed between the two Kings, that the truce should be extended till the "rising of the sun" on the 1st of August, and thence for one year.[1]

A.D. 1350.

Preparations for war, but renewal of truce.

Shortly after the quarrel between England and France had been thus patched up for a time, Philip of Valois died. This event took place on August 22nd, only seven months after his second marriage—to a wife many years younger than himself. He was succeeded, without any protest on the part of England, by his eldest son John, Duke of Normandy, who, like his father, and at about the same time, had taken to himself a second wife, having, on the 9th of February, 1350, married the Countess of Boulogne, widow of his cousin Philip of Burgundy. On November 2nd, he confirmed the prolongation of the truce to which his father had agreed,[2] as it would not otherwise have been binding; but the change of King made no difference in the relations between the two countries.

Death of Philip of Valois, August 22, 1350; succeeded by John, Duke of Normandy.

[1] See Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 184, 193, 195, 196 and 197.
[2] Ibid. p. 207.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SEA FIGHT WITH THE SPANIARDS, AND WAR IN GASCONY AND BRITTANY.

A.D. 1350. IT is one of the remarkable features of the war which raged so long between England and France, that other countries, one after another, seemed to be necessarily drawn into its vortex. Scotland naturally became the ally of France in the struggle; then came Flanders, and the Empire with its various feudatories. The Genoese fought as mercenaries on both sides; but they hardly merit reproach for such conduct, for there was not one of Edward's allies who did not receive payment, or who would not have instantly withdrawn his troops if the bills drawn on the Bardi or Perucchi were likely to be dishonoured. At last, Spain was involved in the contest, and became a valuable ally of France; but, in order fully to understand the history of the events which now took place, it is necessary to enter somewhat into the history of that country.

History of the Spanish peninsula.

After the great defeat of the Moors in 1222, the Spanish peninsula was divided into four sovereignties, exclusive of Granada, which still remained in their hands. These were first, PORTUGAL; next, CASTILE, which included Galicia, the Asturias (forming till 1230 the kingdom of Leon), Old Castile, Toledo or New Castile, Estremadura, Andalusia and a part of Murcia; the third was ARAGON, and

the fourth was the small kingdom of NAVARRE. A.D. 1350.
Castile was thus by far the largest kingdom of Spain, and its inhabitants were usually therefore, and not improperly, designated as The Spaniards. By the marriage, in 1284, of Queen Joanna I. of Navarre with Philip IV. (the Fair), that kingdom became united to France; but on the death of his youngest son, Charles IV. (the Fair), in 1328, it again became a separate kingdom. Charles left no son, and therefore Joan, the only surviving child of his eldest brother Louis X., became heiress to the throne. As a female, she could not ascend the throne of France, being excluded therefrom by the Salic Law; but this law did not prevail in Navarre, and she consequently became Queen of that country. Joan was succeeded, in 1349, by her son, called Charles the Bad, whose sister was married to Philip of Valois in the following year. The relation between France and Navarre, thus gave the French some pretence for interfering in the affairs of Spain; but, their relations with Castile, gave them greater reason for so doing. Fernando de la Cerda, the eldest son of Alphonso X., King of Castile and Leon, married Blanche, sister of Philip the Fair. On the death of Fernando in 1275, his brother Sancho was proclaimed successor to the throne; to the exclusion of De la Cerda's sons, who were, of course, Philip's nephews. Philip and his successors resented this usurpation; and constantly supported, the claims of the De la Cerda family, to the throne. This friendship between France and Spain, is a probable explanation of what now ensued.

Connexion between Navarre and France,

and between France and Castile.

Charles de la Cerda, was appointed admiral of a Spanish fleet, destined for an attack on England; and,

A.D. 1350. it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the expedition was planned by the King of France. That it was no mere piratical adventure, as has sometimes been represented, is clear from Edward's letters and proclamations respecting it. On the 10th of August,[1] when writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to order him to offer up prayers, for the success of his arms, he informed him of his reasons, for defending himself against the Spaniards. He said, that notwithstanding the treaties between the two kingdoms, the Spaniards had attacked and plundered English merchantmen; and that now, "such was their pride," they had gathered themselves together in great numbers in Flanders, to destroy the English navy and invade England. The Spaniards were indeed in great force. According to Froissart, the soldiers on board their fleet, were ten times as many as the English. They had forty great *nefs*, provided with "all kinds of artillery, that it was a wonder to think of,"[2] and great bars of iron, and heaps of stones, to cast down and sink the enemy's ships, and castles, called *bretesk*és, on the masts, from whence these missiles were thrown. They assembled in the harbour of Sluys. Their being allowed to do so by the Flemings, was not consistent with the neutrality of Flanders; but, it must be borne in mind that, although a solemn treaty of peace had been made between Edward and the young Count of Flanders,[3] the sympathies of the Count were always with the French.

France incites Spain to attack England.

Its powerful fleet.

The English fleet

The number of the English ships, is not stated by any contemporary writer; but they were certainly much smaller in size than the Spanish. They lay at

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 201.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 285. [3] Ibid. p. 179.

anchor off Sandwich. The King embarked on August, A.D. 1350. 28th, 1350, apparently in his favourite ship "The Cog Thomas."[1] He was accompanied, in other vessels, by the Prince of Wales and his brother John of Gaunt, afterwards known as "time-honoured Lancaster," but then only ten years of age; by Henry, Earl of Derby,[2] the Earls of Arundel, Hereford, Northampton, Suffolk, and numerous other nobles, and also by nearly 400 knights.

commanded by the King in person.

On embarking, the King gave orders as to the plan of fighting, and then seated himself in the bow of his ship, waiting for the Spaniards. He was dressed, says Froissart, in a black velvet jacket, with a beaver hat of the same colour, which became him well; and he adds that, according to what was told him by those who were there, he was never more joyous. He made his minstrels play to him, on the horn, a German dance which "Master John Chandos," who was with him, had brought over from Germany; and he made "Master Chandos" sing with his minstrels, "which gave him great pleasure." From time to time he

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 202.

[2] Froissart (Buchon's edition, vol. i. p. 285) calls him the Duke of Lancaster, and Knighton (Twisden's Scriptores, col. 2602) says, under date 1350, "Henricus nobilis Comes Lancastriæ factus est Dux Lancastriæ: Hic erat primus dux Lancastriæ, et ante ipsum non occurrit fuisse ducem in Angliâ nisi solum in Cornubiâ." But Sandford (Genealogical History, p. 112) states distinctly that "at a parliament held at Westminster, the 6th day of March, *An.* 25 *of the said King's reign*," he was farther advanced to the title and dignity of Duke of Lancaster. 1350 was the 24th year of the reign, and therefore Henry was Earl of Derby and not Duke of Lancaster when he accompanied the King. It would, perhaps, be more proper to call him Earl of Lincoln. At his father's death, in 1345, he became Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, and on August 10th, An. 23 Ed. III., he was created Earl of Lincoln.

A.D.1350. looked up at the castle on the mast, where he had placed a man to look out for the Spaniards. At last, about four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, August 29th, 1350, the look-out man cried, "Ho! I see one coming, and it looks like a Spanish ship." Then the minstrels ceased, and the look-out man was asked whether he saw any more. "I see two, three, four," and then when he saw the great fleet, he cried out, "God help me! I see so many I cannot count them." The King ordered his trumpets to sound; got his ships under weigh; and prepared for the memorable battle, celebrated under the name of "L'Espagnols sur mer."

The Spanish fleet approaches,

The Spaniards came on with a fair wind, and so, when the King ordered his ship to be laid alongside a large Spaniard, the latter came against him with such force, that the mast of Edward's ship was carried away, all who were in the top were drowned, and she sprang a leak. Edward then ordered his ship to be grappled to the Spaniard, but his knights said, "Let her go, you shall have a better." Then another great ship came on; the English knights fastened the King's ship to her with grappling irons, and a furious fight ensued. The English knew their ship was sinking, and were determined to board the Spaniard. At last they succeeded, and, after throwing overboard all the Spaniards, took possession of it, manned it with the whole crew of their own sinking vessel, and then attacked the Spaniards with one of their own vessels. The Prince of Wales and those under his command were separately engaged. His ship was grappled to a large Spaniard, with which for a long time he fought in vain; in his own ship, so many holes were made by the Spanish missiles, that it was in danger of

and a desperate fight takes place.

sinking. At this critical moment, the Earl of Derby's ship came up, and attacked the Spaniard on the other side, with shouts of "Derby to the rescue." The Spaniard was obliged to yield, the English boarded her, and threw overboard every soul, "not one being taken to mercy." The Prince and his crew were only just on board, when his own ship foundered. The "Salle du Roi," commanded by Sir Robert de Namur, was nearly taken by a singular accident. She was grappled to a great Spaniard, which sailed away with her. But a "varlet called Hannekin" leaped on board the Spaniard, and, running to the mast, cut away the haulyards of the sail, which fell on the deck. He then cut four of the principal ropes or shrouds, that supported the mast and sail, and thus stopped the vessel's progress. Amid the confusion which ensued, the English sailors boarded the Spaniard and took her. As usual, all on board were slain or thrown into the sea. The battle thus raged furiously for a long time, but at last the Spaniards were beaten, with the loss of either fourteen or twenty-six ships, according to different accounts. Edward then ordered his trumpets to sound a cessation of arms, and, soon after nightfall, his ships anchored at Rye and Winchelsea. Thus ended a combat which, in many of its features, "stands unrivalled in English history. Not only were the chief nobility and knights of England present, but they were led by the Sovereign and Prince of Wales in person, who both so completely shared the dangers of the day, that they fought until their ships actually sunk under them. Persons of every rank emulated the heroic courage of their Princes, and the intrepid conduct of Hannekin, will lose nothing by comparison with any modern exploit. It

A.D. 1350.

The Spaniards are beaten.

The battle unrivalled in English naval history.

A.D. 1350. was, moreover, a victory over a new enemy, for the pride of Spain was then for the first time humbled by an English fleet; and the noble title of 'KING OF THE SEA' was the appropriate reward bestowed by the people on their King for his naval triumphs."[1]

Mutual recriminations of England and France.

As already stated, the accession of John to the throne of France, made no alteration in the relations between the two countries. The two Kings accused each other of breaking the truce, and, almost immediately after the accession of John, an incident occurred, which irritated them both greatly. Raoul, Count of Eu and Guisnes, the Constable of France, had been taken prisoner by the English at Caen in 1346, and had remained a prisoner in England ever since. Edward asked a large ransom for him; but the Count had so won the love of Edward and Philippa, that, on the accession of John to the throne of France, he reduced the amount, and allowed the Count to go to France to collect it. On his arrival, Raoul presented himself before the King, expecting a cordial reception. What follows, is full of mystery. When King John saw him, he ordered the Count to follow him into his inner chamber; then, putting a letter into his hand, asked him whether he had ever seen it before. Froissart says, that the Count turned pale and could not answer, and that John then accused him of being a traitor, cast him into prison, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the French nobles, caused him to be executed on the 19th November. His crime was never divulged; and Froissart

Raoul, Count of Eu and Guisnes, is suspected of treason, and put to death by the King of France.

[1] Nicolas' *History of the British Navy*, vol. ii. p. 113. The above account of this battle is taken from Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. pp. 286, 7, 8, with some additions from Sir H. Nicolas, vol. ii. chap. 2.

says,[1] relative to his execution, "It was a great pity if he deserved it, but I hold that he was so brave and so noble that he could never have thought of treason. But whether it was right, or whether it was wrong, he died." It is supposed by Villani,[2] that the Count had promised to sell the castle of Guisnes to Edward, if he could not raise money to pay his ransom in any other way; and, that John cut off his head, to prevent the Count's ransom from costing the country either money or fortress. John's policy, however, defeated itself; for, as Froissart says, whether the Count was or was not guilty, his death greatly enraged the French nobles, and must have disgusted Edward. The castle was almost immediately sold to the English by the garrison, who were exasperated at the murder of their master.

A.D. 1350.

The castle of Guisnes is sold to the English.

It was very shortly before these events, that John confirmed the treaty of peace between France and England; but, it is evident that neither King believed in its permanence; and at last, on March 1st, 1351,[3] Edward wrote to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, explaining to them, that he was unable to have peace or keep a truce with John because he did not desist from attacking his territories; and was collecting, as Edward said he was credibly informed, a large army to invade England and his other possessions. He consequently asked them, to summon the clergy of their provinces, and obtain a subsidy from them.

A.D. 1351.

Edward demands a subsidy from the clergy on account of John's preparations.

The first open act of hostility was committed by John. It was the recapture of St. Jean D'Angely in Saintonge, which had been taken by the Earl of

John begins by taking St. Jean D'Angely.

[1] Buchon's edition, vol. i. p. 298.

[2] See Sismondi, vol. x. p. 378.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 214.

A.D. 1351. Lancaster in 1346.[1] In order to stop provisions being carried into the town, the French blockaded it with a strong body of troops. They had probably already failed to take it by assault, and thought they avoided breaking the truce, by confining their operations to the prevention of its relief. The garrison were soon reduced to such extremities, that they sent to England for help. Their messengers found the King at Windsor, and, says Froissart, he opened the letters which they brought "and had them read to him twice over, that he might the better understand the matter." "It is a reasonable request, to which I must listen," said the King; and he lost no time in sending

Blockade of St. Jean early in 1351, during the truce.

The garrison send to England for help.

[1] The exact dates of the events connected with this re-capture cannot be ascertained with certainty, and there is no account of the fighting and skirmishing which certainly went on in Gascony between the fall of St. Jean D'Angely in 1346 and its re-capture by the French in 1351. Poitiers was taken by the English in 1346, immediately after St. Jean D'Angely, but inasmuch as it was in the hands of the French in 1351, it was probably re-taken by the French in one of those attacks of which Edward so bitterly complained in the spring of that year, and the first attack on St. Jean was perhaps made about the same time. According to Froissart, King John went to visit the Pope at Avignon, and thence to Poitou and St. Jean soon after his accession. It is clear, however, that Froissart confounds together two journeys of King John. In the autumn of 1350, soon after confirming the truce with England, King John went to Burgundy, and then to Avignon to visit the Pope. From Avignon he went to Montpellier, where he arrived on the 7th of January, 1351, and he returned to Paris early in February.* It was hardly practicable for John to go to Poitou between his visit to Montpellier and his return to Paris: his visit to Poitou must therefore have been later in that year, and the attack on St. Jean D'Angely must have begun in his absence, and, in all probability, in the spring of 1351.

* Sismondi, vol. x. pp. 381-4.

"Earl Beauchamp,"[1] with various other noblemen and knights, numbering in all about 300 men-at-arms and 600 bowmen, to relieve the place. They landed at Bordeaux, where they were largely reinforced; then, after collecting an ample supply of provisions for the town, they set out with 500 lances, 1,500 bowmen, and 3,000 brigands, as the light-armed foot soldiers were then called.[2]

A.D. 1351.

Edward sends soldiers, who land at Bordeaux,

The combined forces marched, in one day, from Bordeaux to the banks of the Charente, a few miles to the north of which river St. Jean was situated. Beauchamp found the French, commanded by Guy de Nesle, prepared to oppose their passage of the river; they had taken possession of a bridge, which, in the absence of artillery, or if attacked by only such artillery as was occasionally used at that time, could be easily defended against a greatly superior force. The English, seeing how doubtful was the result of an attack on the French position, with apparently more prudence than valour, retreated. It is to be surmised, that what followed was foreseen by the English, and that their retreat, was nothing more than a feint, to lure the French out of their strong position.

and march to the relief of St. Jean.

The English retreat,

and are pursued by the French.

The French saw the retreat of the English, with much exultation, and said, "You shall not go off in that way, my Lords of England; you must pay your scot;" and immediately set out in pursuit. But the English turned on them and defeated them, taking a large number of prisoners, including Guy de Nesle himself, Boucicaut, and many other famous

The English turn on them and defeat the French, but make no attempt to relieve St. Jean, and return to England.

[1] Froissart, vol. i. p. 291, mentions "Jean de Beauchamp" and "le Viscomte de Beauchamp," but there was no Earl Beauchamp. The Earl of Warwick's name was Beauchamp.

[2] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 291, note.

A.D. 1351. knights, "who were worth to them 100,000 *moutons*,"[1] besides a vast quantity of horses and armour. Notwithstanding this success, the English, for some inexplicable reason, made no further attempt to relieve the city, but carried off their prisoners to Bordeaux, from whence they embarked for England.

King John arrives at St. Jean.

This defeat of the French took place in the middle of July.[2] By that time, King John had arrived at Poitiers, on his way to St. Jean. He was, of course, aware of the siege of that city, of the importance of taking it from the English, and probably wished to distinguish the beginning of his reign by a brilliant exploit of arms. Angry at the defeat of De Nesle, he "swore by the soul of his father" that he would never leave St. Jean till he had taken it, and immediately marched off to the siege. The garrison, on the retreat of the English, were much distressed, for their provisions were nearly exhausted; they therefore begged for fifteen days' respite, promising to surrender, if they were not relieved within that time. This was granted, and King John, with chivalric generosity, sent a supply of provisions into the city. The garrison, at once despatched messengers to Bordeaux, to inform their friends of the state to which they were reduced; but no succour came. They therefore surrendered at the end of the fifteen

Fall of St. Jean on Sept. 7, 1351.

[1] A piece of money so called, probably from its representing the average value of a sheep.

[2] It is stated by James (*History of the Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 119, note) that it occurred on the 1st April, but it must have been in the middle of July. Froissart distinctly states that King John was at Poitiers on the day of the battle, that he at once set out for St. Jean, that he (probably after a few days) gave the garrison fifteen days' respite, and that he took possession of the city on September 7th.

days and King John entered the town on September 7th.[1] Four days after the capture of St. Jean, the truce between England and France was renewed, for one year and a day, to expire on September 12th, 1352. It was signed at "the accustomed place between Calais and Guisnes."[2] A.D. 1351.

The war in Brittany, and the events which had occurred there since 1347, now claim attention. When Charles of Blois was taken prisoner after the capture of Roche Derien in 1347, his Countess carried on the war gallantly, and there was constant fighting between her partisans and those of the Countess of Montfort. In 1350, the latter challenged those who fought on the side of Blois, and a battle ensued, which, under the name of the Battle of Thirty, became somewhat famous. One Robert de Beaumanoir, an ally of Charles of Blois, went roaming about the country in search of adventures; coming to the Castle of Plöermel, the governor of which was Sir Richard Bamborough, he knocked at the gate, and asked him "whether there were not any two or three men-at-arms who would joust for the love of their friends." Bamborough answered that so small a number would be "an adventure of fortune too soon over;" he therefore proposed, that there should be twenty or thirty on each side, and that no one looking on should help them. It was agreed, that there should be thirty on each side. The English party was composed of twenty Englishmen, four Bretons, and six Flemings; the French were all Bretons. On the appointed day, they met on a quiet plain, and all but five on each side, who remained to

The War in Brittany.

The Battle of Thirty.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 292.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 232.

A.D. 1351. guard the entrance, got off their horses to fight on foot. At a given signal they rushed to the encounter, and fought till fatigue separated them. At that time, four French and two English were killed. They then left off to rest awhile, to attend to their wounds, and to take wine; when they were rested and refreshed, they went at it again, and fought valiantly till Bamborough was killed. This threw the English into some confusion, but "Croquart the brigand," who was fighting on the English side, rallied them; the combat then again raged, for a while without any preponderance of success on one side or the other. One of the Bretons, however, treacherously mounted his horse, and charged furiously among the English, creating a confusion which enabled the Bretons to rush in and compel them to yield. Thus ended the famous "Battle of Thirty." This combat took place on March 27th, 1350. A few months after this encounter, Sir Thomas D'Agworth, the commander-in-chief in Brittany, was killed in an accidental encounter with a superior body of French,[1] and Sir Walter Bentley was appointed in his place.

The English are beaten.

A.D. 1352. Active warfare was not renewed in Brittany till the summer of 1352. At that time, John was so desirous of assisting the party of Charles of Blois, that, notwithstanding the truce had not expired, he sent a large body of soldiers into Brittany; on the 14th of August a great battle was fought between the two armies, in which, although the English forces were greatly outnumbered by the French, the latter were utterly defeated.

Defeat of the French in Brittany.

In order to complete the account of the exact position, at this time, of those nations whose enmity

[1] Avesbury, p. 183. [2] Ibid. p. 190.

or friendship had an influence on the war with France, it is necessary to give a brief account of some events which had taken place in Flanders. The Flemings in general, still remained in the main true to Edward, until cajoled by the Duke of Brabant; but the Count himself, soon became more hostile than ever to England. Before his escape from Flanders, in 1347, he had promised, under compulsion, to marry Edward's daughter Isabella; but the Duke of Brabant, equally anxious that the Count should marry one of his daughters, did not cease in his efforts to bring about the latter alliance. For this, it was necessary to obtain the consent of Philip of Valois; it was immediately granted, on the one condition, that the Flemings themselves should agree to the marriage. By a mixture of threats and promises, "sword in hand," as Froissart says, the Duke persuaded the Flemings to do so; the Count was married in 1350 to one of the daughters of the Duke of Brabant, and the ruler of Flanders thus became more than ever committed against England.[1] Although, however, the Duke had forced the Flemings into an open acquiescence in his schemes, it is quite clear that, in their hearts, the people preferred the English alliance; many of them were actually banished from Flanders, and heartily welcomed in England, on account of their friendship for Edward.[2]

A.D. 1352.

Hostility of the Count of Flanders and goodwill of the Flemings to England.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 284.

[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 232.

CHAPTER XIX.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION.

A.D. 1352. THE four years, between the fall of St. Jean D'Angely and the great invasion of France by the Prince of Wales, were mainly occupied with continual infractions, and as constant renewals, of the truce between England and France. There were but few events in England of public importance, but there were some incidents of interest which illustrate the social history of the times.

Domestic events between the fall of St. Jean and the invasion of France, 1355.

As already stated, vain attempts were made at this time to counteract, by legal enactments, the rise in the price of labour, consequent on the ravages of the Black Death; but an account must now be given of the way in which the Parliament (9th Feb. 1351), which passed the Statute of Labourers, attempted another interference with the freedom of trade, by imposing punishment on those who were called regrators and forestallers, and who were held in great abhorrence under the supposition that they caused scarceness and dearness of provisions. They were actually banished out of the towns in which they were found to dwell; were liable to be put in the pillory, or "Stretchneck" as it was called;[1] and were termed, "open oppressors of poor

Laws against forestallers and regrators.

[1] *Stat. of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 203.

people and public enemies of the whole commonalty and country, who, meeting, sometimes by land and sometimes by water, grain, fish, herring or other things coming to be sold, do make haste to buy them before other, *thirsting after wicked gain*." [1] A.D. 1352.

Unjust prejudice against forestallers and regrators.

They may, doubtless, sometimes have taken advantage of their position, to raise prices unfairly; but there cannot be a doubt, that they were, on the whole, useful as wholesale dealers or middle men, without whom a retail trade could hardly be carried on. There was however a great prejudice against them, not only as aiming at raising prices for their own exclusive advantage, but as encroaching on the trading privileges of citizens, particularly of Staple towns, evading the King's customs and tolls, and those of the owners of markets, where in former times all wholesale dealings were required to be carried on. For these reasons, the Parliament in question enacted, that "the things forestalled" should be "forfeited to the King, if the buyer thereof had made gree to the seller; and if he had not made gree of all, but by earnest, he (the buyer) should incur the forfeiture of as much as the forestalled goods amounted to," if he could, and if not he should be imprisoned by two years or more.[2] Combination to abate prices was also forbidden, as may be seen from the following extract from the statute which was passed with that object, viz.: "We will and grant that all Merchants

[1] Stat. de Pistor., as quoted from Lib. Horn. fo. 121 b., in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. i. p. 202 (Temp. incert.).

[2] 25 Ed. III. stat. 3, cap. 3. The wording of the statute is obscure, but it probably means that if the buyer and seller had agreed together the goods should be forfeited to the King.

A.D. 1352. may buy, without covin or collusion to abate the price of the said Merchandizes." [1]

The wine trade.

The prevention of forestalling, in every way and shape, was also attempted in another statute, by which it was provided: "That no English Merchant, nor any of his servants, nor other for them, shall go into Gascoin there to abide, to make bargain, or buying of wines, before the time of the vintage, that is to say, before that common passage be made to seek wines there." [2] At the same time, and for the reasons stated with reference to forestallers, it was also enacted: "That all Merchants that do bring wines or merchandizes whatsoever to the staples, cities, or ports within our Realm, may sell them in gross or at retail or by parcels at their will, and that no Merchant go toward such wines, &c. to forestall them before that they come to the staple or port." [3]

The herring trade.

Four years afterwards, the trade in herrings was interfered with in like manner; it was enacted,[4] that "no herring be bought or sold in the sea, till the fishers come into the haven with their herrings, and that the cable of the ship be drawn to land;" and the prices, at which the herrings should be sold, was minutely specified. In the same statute, the trade in "stock-fish of Boston and salmon of Berwick, and of wines and fish of Bristuil," was regulated, "to the intent that the King and the people may be the better served." These unwise interferences with the freedom of trade were soon found to be ineffectual, and four years later it became necessary to pass another statute, because "Many mer-

Unwise interference with the freedom of trade.

[1] 27 Ed. III. stat. 2, c. 3.
[2] Ibid. stat. 1, cap. 7.
[3] Ibid. stat. 2. cap. 11.
[4] 31 Ed. III. stat. 2.

chants coming to the fair do bargain for herring, and every one of them by malice and envy increase upon other, and if one proffer forty-shilling, another will proffer ten shillings more, and the third sixty-shillings, and so every one surmounteth the other in the bargain, and such proffers extend to more than the price of the herring upon which the fishers proffered to sell it at the beginning." It was therefore enacted, that it should "be lawful to every man to buy herring openly, and not privily, at such price as may be agreed betwixt him and the seller of the same herring, and that no man enter in bargain upon the buying of the same, till he that first cometh to bargain shall have an end of his bargain agreeable to the seller, and that none increase upon other during the first bargain."[1] Justice to the poor fishermen, who toiled for the herrings, and were fairly entitled to as much as the herring consumers were willing to give, seems never to have entered into the minds of the legislators.

A.D. 1352. Herring trade.

The trade in other kinds of fish was also interfered with. In the 31 Ed. III. stat. 3 it was stated that "Whereas the salt fish of Blakeney, and of the coasts adjoining are sold at too high a price," it is ordained, that "all the ships called doggers and lodeships, pertaining to the haven of Blakeneye and the coasts adjoining, shall discharge their fish within the haven of Blakeneye only; and, that no fish be delivered out of the ship, before that the owner of the ship and the merchant be agreed of the price, by clear day." It was also enacted that the buyer only should be allowed to handle the fish; "that no fish called loych-fish shall be chosen or tried, but

Interference with trade in salt fish.

[1] 35 Ed. III.

A.D. 1352. only in three parts, that is to say lob, ling, or cod;" that "if there were no orgeys, that is fish greater than lob," the numbers of the fish should be reckoned six score to the hundred; that no fish should be hid in the mud for future sale; that no man in Norfolk should buy nets, hooks, or other fishing instruments, except "owners of ships that use the mystery of fishing." In short, in accordance with the spirit of the time, efforts were made to confine trade in any particular article to those who made it their especial calling, and the freedom of the fishermen was in every way interfered with, so as to prevent their getting a fair price for their fish.

The King's Aulneger.

The measuring by the King's Aulneger of all cloths offered for sale, and the way in which they should be measured, were settled.[1] This regulation probably acted as a protection to the buyer; but the establishment of staples, or authorised places, where only, within the kingdom, certain goods were allowed to be sold, by the well-known *Statute of the Staple*, was an unwise interference with trade, and injurious both to buyer and seller. Its only palliation is, that it was through the staples that a considerable part of the King's revenue was raised. Staples had been sometimes appointed within and sometimes without the kingdom, principally for the King's own interest; but occasionally, perhaps, to promote a particular branch of trade. In order to encourage the trade with the Flemings, staples were, at various times, appointed in Flanders. But, as this statute says, "for the damage which had notoriously come as well to us and to the great men, as to our people of our Realm of England, and of

Statute of the Staple

[1] 25 Ed. III. stat. 3.

our land of Wales and Ireland, because that the staple of wools, leather, and woolfels have been holden out of our said Realm, and also for the great profits which should come to the said Realm if the staples were holden within the same and not elsewhere," it was "ordained and established" that the staples should be held at certain places within the Realm, "and not elsewhere." This was a plausible pretext, but the continual shifting of the staples was a great detriment to trade, and was practised only with the object of increasing the King's revenue. The mode of carrying on trade, at the staple towns, was minutely regulated. The rent of the houses was determined; it was enacted, "that in every town where the staple shall be holden, shall be ordained certain rews[1] and places where the wool and other merchandizes shall be put; and because that the Lords or Guardians of the houses and places, seeing the necessity of merchants, do set percase their houses at too high ferm, we have ordained that the houses which be to be leased in such manner shall be set at a reasonable ferm." The object of this, was to secure the King's interests, by attracting traders, at the expense of the owners of the houses.[2]

A.D. 1352.

Appointment of staples in England.

Rent of houses, &c. at the staple.

It is remarkable that trade with Scotland, or even with Scotchmen, was entirely forbidden by the same statute.[3] "No merchant, nor other, shall carry wools, &c. to Berwick upon Tweed, nor Scotland; nor any man, of what condition that he be, sell to any man of Scotland." By a statute of two years later,[4]

Trade with Scotland forbidden.

[1] Query *rues*, i. e. streets.

[2] 27 Ed. III. stat. 2, and see Reeve's *English Law*, vol. ii. p. 393, *et seq.*, for details relative to the law respecting staples.

[3] Ibid. cap. 12.

[4] 28 Ed. III. c. 5.

A.D. 1352. the export of iron was forbidden; and the selling of it "at too dear a price" was made punishable.

Export of iron forbidden.

The forbidding of trade between England and Scotland, however mistaken may have been the policy, is intelligible, considering the constant state of warfare between the two countries; but a statute, passed in 1357,[1] forbidding marriages between the English and the Irish, seems, at first sight, utterly unreasonable and inexplicable. It becomes easily intelligible, however, when the policy, pursued by the English kings, of preventing a friendly union between the two races, is understood and recognised. This subject will be further considered in a subsequent chapter; but, it is too important to be dismissed in this place without further comment. It may be confidently asserted, that no other conquered race, was ever punished by its conquerors, with such wholesale confiscation of its landed property, as was the Irish by the English; and, the peculiar tenure of land which prevailed in Ireland, and which gave every man belonging to a sept[2] a kind of share or interest in it, increased that bitter feeling, and has perpetuated it, even to the present day. But there was another

The enmity of the English and Irish explained.

[1] 31 Ed. III. stat. 4, c. 8.

[2] "The Sept land belonged not to the individual sept men, nor to the chief, but to the sept ..... by the Irish* custom of Gavelkind, the inferior tenancies were partable amongst all the males of the sept ..... the relic of a state of things when all the possessions of the patriarchal community were held in common ..... there is a wide step between this state of things and the English relation of landlord and tenant."—*Irish History and Irish Character*, by Goldwin Smith. Oxford, 1862, pp. 19, 22, 23 and 24.

* It is hardly necessary here to remark that Sir John Davis (p. 128), whom Mr. Goldwin Smith here quotes, is in error in speaking of Gavelkind as if it were exclusively an Irish custom.

peculiar feature, in the relations between the English and Irish at that time. The English who settled in Ireland, desired the friendship of the Irish, and their children were often put out to wet nurse with the native Irish. The nurses' children thus frequently became attached to their foster brethren, and the seeds of a friendship between the two races were thus sown. As will hereafter be more particularly explained, it was the insane policy of England to check this friendship, and the statute in question was passed to prevent this particular development of it. The statute recited, that, "Whereas by marriages and divers other ties, and the nursing of infant children, among the English dwelling in the Marches and the Irish, infinite destructions and other evils have happened hitherto, we will and command, that such marriages to be contracted between English and Irish, and other private ties and nursing of infant children, shall from henceforth cease and be altogether done away." A subsequent chapter[1] of the same statute, shows, that although the old English settlers in Ireland became attached to the Irish, and were said to be even more Irish than the Irish themselves, yet the recent English settlers and the Irish could not live peaceably together; that there was a jealousy between them; and that it was necessary to provide expressly, that persons of English descent in Ireland were to be considered really English subjects. "Although as well those born in Ireland who are of English lineage, as those born in England and dwelling in Ireland be true English, yet divers dissensions by reason of birth, between them that are natives of Ireland and them that are natives of England, have

A.D. 1352.

Marriage between English and Irish forbidden.

[1] Cap. 18.

A.D. 1352 arisen," was the preamble of the statute, imposing penalties for such dissensions. The cause of this state of things will be subsequently explained, and therefore no more need be said on it here.

Laws relative to purveyors.

The oppressions of purveyors, in seizing food and other things for the King's use, the insufficient payment for them, and the difficulty of obtaining payment within a reasonable time, were great grievances. An attempt was made to remedy them by a statute [1] passed at this time, and by another passed a few years later.[2] So grievous was this prerogative felt to be, that even the name of purveyor was hateful to the people, and it was enacted that "the heinous name of Purveyor be changed and named Buyer."[3] The former statute recites, that, "Forasmuch as great and outrageous damage and grievance, hath been done to the people, by the takers and purveyors of victuals for the houses of our Sovereign Lord the King, the Queen, and their children;" it was ordered that such "corn, hay, litter, bestial, and all other victuals and things," should be paid for at their actual value, and tallies immediately given in payment for them; that "no taker of wood nor of timber" for the King's use, "should cut down the trees of any man growing about or within his house; that sheep be not taken before shearing time," because the purveyors used to shear them for their own profit; and, lastly, that the King's butlers should be prevented from taking more wine than was needed, "whereof the worst they deliver to the King's use, and the best they retain to themselves." It was

[1] 25 Ed. III. st. 5. [2] 36 Ed. III.

[3] By a singular catachresis the word *Purveyor* now means *seller*, i.e. one who sells meat or provisions to the Queen or other person.

still, however, difficult for the sellers to obtain actual payment, partly on account of the difficulty of travelling from one place to another. By a subsequent statute, therefore,[1] it was provided that sums under twenty shillings should be paid without tallies; and that, of greater sums, "payment" should "be made within a quarter of a year, at certain days and places, according as it may be most for the ease and less travel of the people." These ordinances were further confirmed by the statute of the 36 Ed. III. A.D. 1352. Mode of payment for goods taken by purveyors.

Another statute, the importance of which still remains, and which may be said to be one of the corner stones of English liberty, was passed at this time. It has reference to the definition of the crime of High Treason. In order to defraud the nobility and gentry of the escheats of lands, forfeited to them, as lords of the fee, by their vassals, in certain cases of felony and misdemeanour, and to vest the same in the Crown, the judges had multiplied the crimes which they called treason to a most oppressive extent; so much so indeed, that those who appropriated to themselves, without grant, free warren in their own lands, or escheators who "unlawfully make waste of the King's wards, or unlawfully take venison, fish, or other goods" were deemed guilty of treason.[2] The Commons petitioned the King, to define treason more exactly; this was done by the famous statute which still continues in force.[3] It would occupy too much space here to enter into an account of the exact definition of treason then adopted, but it is sufficient to say, that "from the time of its enactment till the present day, that defi- Statute of Treasons.

[1] 28 Ed. III. c. 12. [2] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 239.

[3] 25 Ed. III. stat. 5, cap. 2. and see Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 239, No. 7.

A.D.1352. nition has always formed the kernel of the law on high treason."[1]

Statute of Provisors.

The King's struggle with the Pope, against his interference in the temporal matters concerning the Church, was constantly going on, and the well-known "Statute of Provisors"[2] was passed, setting forth the origin and purpose of the possessions of the Church, and providing a remedy against such interference. "Whereas," to adopt the language of the statute, "the holy Church of England, was founded in the estate of prelacy, to inform the people of the law of God, and to make hospitalities, alms, and other works of charity, and certain possessions were assigned to sustain the said charge," but "the Pope of Rome, accroaching to him the seignories of such possessions, doth give the same to aliens which did never dwell in England;" it was provided "that the said oppressions from henceforth should not be suffered;" and ordained "that the free elections of bishops and other dignities should hold from henceforth in the manner as they were granted by the King's progenitors;" and, it was further provided, that if the Pope's provisors, as "the persons practising this new device were called,"[3] did not obey this statute, they should be liable to imprisonment.

Certain Lawyers excluded from Parliament.

In the Parliament which passed these laws it seems that a certain class of practising lawyers—those, namely, who were notoriously engaged in vexatious litigation—were not allowed to sit, at least for counties. They were however excluded by implication rather than by name; this Parliament, therefore, must not be confounded with the celebrated *Parlia-*

[1] Stephen's *Criminal Law of England*, p. 36.

[2] 25 Ed. III. st. 4. [3] Reeve's *Eng. Law*, vol. ii. p. 158.

mentum Indoctum, or Layman's Parliament, held in the reign of Henry IV., A.D. 1404, from which lawyers were expressly and entirely excluded. A.D. 1352.

but only by implication.

Such lawyers had indeed, by implication, been excluded ever since 1330,—that is, if (which is, however, open to doubt) the expression, "maintainers of false suits and quarrels" may be interpreted as including a certain class of lawyers. Other persons also were certainly indicated, but that a certain class of lawyers was especially meant, can hardly be matter of doubt, for the "great men," "bailiffs" and "others" mentioned in various statutes[1] could not have acted without the intervention of lawyers, and probably did so at their express instigation.[2] A few years later, in 1339, the words *gladiis cinctos* were added

[1] See stat. 33 Ed. I. 'Ordinatio de Conspiratoribus.' 4 Ed. III. c. xi. and 20 Ed. III. c. 5.

[2] "Et pur ce que avant ces heures, acuns de chivalers, qui sont venuz as parlementz pur les communautes des countes, ount este gentz de coveigne, et *maintenours de fauses quereles*, et n'ount mie soeffreit que les bones gentz poient monstrez les grevaunces du commun people . . . . nous maundoms et chargeoms que vous facez eslire, par commun assent de vostre countee, deux des plus leaux et plus suffisauns chivalers our serjeantz en meisme le countee, qui soient mie suspecionous de male couveigne ne communs maintenours des parties, &c."—*Don'a Wodestoke, le* iii. *jour de Novembre* 1330.—Rymer, vol. ii. p. 800. Embodied in Stat. 4 Ed. III. c. xi.

Maintenance is defined by Blackstone to mean "an officious intermeddling in a suit that noway belongs to one, by *maintaining* or assisting either party with money or otherwise, to prosecute or defend it." *Champerty* is described as a species of maintenance, being a bargain with a plaintiff or defendant *Campum partire*, to divide the land or other matter sued for between them, if they prevail at law, whereupon the champertor is to carry on the party's suit at his own expense.—Stephen's *Commentaries on the Law of England*, edition 1868, vol. iv. pp. 322 and 323.

A.D. 1352. after the word *milites*, the intention evidently being that the members for shires should be tenants holding by knight's service. This is rendered tolerably certain, by the fact, that in 1349 the words *et non alios*, and no others, were added; the object here being, to restrict more closely the class from which members for counties were to be chosen. This, however, was evidently not enough to keep out the lawyers; for in the writs issued on November 15th, 1351, for the Parliament to assemble on January 13th, 1352, which passed the Statute of Treasons, and also in those for 1355 and 1356, it was required that such knights, citizens and burgesses should be chosen "as were not maintainers of quarrels, suits, or pleas, *or such as lived by them*, but substantial men, of good credit, and lovers of the public good."[1]

Exclusion of lawyers from the representation of counties.

In 1372, lawyers and sheriffs were expressly excluded from the representation of counties, as appears by the following ordinance: "Whereas the people of

[1] Claus. 25 Ed. III. m. 5 d, as quoted by Carte, vol. ii. p. 482. It may be that a particular class of lawyers, viz. those only who were known to be engaged in fictitious or purely litigious suits, was here intended; but the wording of the enactment in 1372, "*ne q̃ ces q̃ sont Gentz de Ley*," seems to me to show that in 1330 and subsequently lawyers were intended to be excluded from the representation of counties. The whole argument may be thus summed up. There were certain persons, among whom lawyers must have been prominent, who were guilty of champerty and maintenance. In 1330, these were especially excluded from the representation of counties. This order of Parliament was not sufficient to keep out the lawyers, and therefore, in 1339, 1349, 1351, 1355, and 1356 the class of persons from whom representatives of counties should be chosen, was still further restricted, till at last, in 1372, all practising lawyers were expressly excluded from sitting for counties; and in 1404 from sitting in Parliament at all.

the law, who follow divers businesses in the King's Courts for particular persons, with whom they are, procure and send many petitions to Parliament in the name of the Commons, which do not concern them, but only the particular persons with whom they dwell; and sheriffs also, who are the common ministers of the people, and ought to remain at their office to do right to every one, have been returned to Parliament for shires; it is agreed, that no man of the law, following his business in the Courts of the King, nor sheriff so long as he is sheriff, shall be returned to Parliament for counties.' It is added, that those lawyers or sheriffs, who may have been returned at that time, shall not have any wages.[1] It was, as already stated, by the writ of summons for the Parliament of 1404, thence called *Parliamentum Indoctum*, or the Layman's Parliament, that lawyers were expressly excluded from Parliament in general.[2] A.D. 1352.

[1] "Purce q̃ Gentz de Ley q̃ pursuent diverses busoignes en les Courts le Roi pur singulers persones ove queux ils sont, procurent et font mettre plusours Petitions en Parliamentz en noñ des Communes, q̃ rien lour touche mes soulement les singulers persones ove queux ils sont demorez: Auxint Viscontz &c. . . . .; est accorde et assentu en cest Parlement, Qe desormes *null Homme de* Ley pursuant busoignes en la Court le roi, ne Viscont pur le temps q'il est Viscont, soient retournez ne acceptez Chivalers des Countees, ne q̃ ces q̃ sont Gentz de Ley et Viscontz ore retournez en Parlement eient Gages."—Rot. Parl. 46 Ed. III. (m. 1) 13; vol. ii. p. 310. See *post*, vol. ii. chap. 12.

[2] Mr. Haydon has recently examined the copy of the Parliamentary writs preserved in the Record Office, and discovered the following passage, which he most obligingly communicated to me:—"Nolumus autem quod tu seu aliquis alius vicecomes regni nostri prædicti aut apprenticius, *sive aliquis alius homo ad legem aliqualiter sit electus*."—Close Roll, 5 Hen. IV. p. 2. m. 4 (dorse). The peculiar character of this summons is also noticed in two

A.D. 1353.

Lawyers not to sit in Parliament.

It may, at first sight, appear singular, that a statute, of such importance and of so entirely a legal character as that of treasons, should have been passed by a Parliament from which lawyers were even partially excluded. But it must be recollected, that Statutes were not then, nor indeed are they now, expressed in the exact language of Bills passed by the two Houses. The Commons and those who elected them knew what grievances required remedy; they felt the hardship of a particular law; the members presented petitions for a remedy; and if the King was pleased to grant the petition, the law officers then drew up a statute for that purpose, usually somewhat in the language of the petition, but, occasionally, differing from it very considerably. Thus, in the case of the Statute of Treasons, the Commons presented a petition to the effect that, "whereas the judges condemn as Traitors those brought before them for divers causes unknown to them to be treason, may it please our Lord the King, by his Council and by the Great and Wise Men of the Kingdom to declare" what Treason exactly was;[1] and treason was, consequently, minutely defined.

Mode of making laws.

ancient chronicles. "Quo insuper anno statuitur parliamentum apud Coventriam statim post festum Sancti Michaelis. Et Rex mandavit quod *nullus juris peritus ad illud veniret.*"—*Eulogium a Monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum,* edited by Frank Scott Haydon, B.A. vol. iii. p. 402. "Direxit ergo brevia Vicecomitibus, ne quosquam pro Comitatibus eligerent quovismodo milites, qui in jure regni vel docti fuissent, vel apprenticii; sed tales omnino mitterentur ad hoc negotium, quos constaret ignorare cujusque juris methodum; factumque est ita."—Riley's *Walsingham,* vol. ii. p. 265.

[1] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 239, No. 7; and see Hallam's *Middle Ages* (edit. 1841), 8vo. vol. ii. p. 180; and Reeve's *English Law,* vol. ii. chap. 14 (on Judicature in Parliament).

Before leaving the consideration of these questions relative to the class of persons elected to Parliament, it is desirable to notice a few other points connected with its constitution. First, with reference to the persons sent to or chosen for Parliament. These were Peers, or Barons; and Knights and Burgesses. The Barons or Peers, whether lay or Ecclesiastical, were those owners of large estates who were *ordered* to attend Parliament, by writs, addressed to them individually and by name. The knights of the shires and other "Commons" were *chosen*, by order of a writ, addressed for that purpose to the Sheriff of the county. The electors were, for the counties, all the inhabitants of the county attending the County Court; for the boroughs, the whole body of citizens, meaning thereby, all the free inhabitants. Lastly, Parliaments, on their dismissal, were not, as now, prorogued, but dissolved, and there was a fresh election for each Parliament—or session, as it would now be termed.[1]

A.D. 1353.

Method of summoning or electing to Parliament.

[1] On all of these matters, the reader should consult Mr. Homersham Cox's valuable work: *Antient Parliamentary Elections; a History showing how Parliaments were constituted, and Representatives of the People elected in Antient Times.* London, 8vo. 1868.

CHAPTER XX.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR AND INVASION OF FRANCE.

A.D. 1352. HAVING given an account of the principal domestic events which took place in England about this time, the history of the quarrel between England and France must now be resumed. Whatever may be the interest or importance of other events in Edward's reign, the sound of this mighty strife between the two Kings, like the dominant air, or refrain, in a complicated musical composition, ever returns and gives a character to the whole reign.

The quarrel between England and France.

Death of Clement III., succeeded by Innocent VI.

The truce between France and England had expired on the 12th September 1352; but had been prolonged till August following, and again till the 11th November.[1] War consequently did not break out between the two countries. On the 6th December following, Pope Clement the Sixth died, and his successor, Innocent the Sixth, continued the negotiations for peace which Clement had so frequently and so vainly carried on. Innocent's efforts were apparently as fruitless as Clement's; for the Parliament which

A.D. 1353. met on Monday, September 23rd, 1353, proceeded, on October 7th, to consider the question of providing means for carrying on the war with France. On

Meeting of English Parliament.

that day, the Commons were summoned to meet the King, the Prelates, and the great men, in the White

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 260.

Chamber, soon after sunrise; on their assembling, Bartholomew de Burghersh, the King's Chamberlain,[1] informed them of the means the King had taken to obtain peace with France. He stated, that the King had sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, his cousin Henry, Duke of Lancaster,[2] and others, to Guisnes, to say, that "if his adversary would make him restitution of the Duchy of Guienne entirely as his ancestors possessed it, of the Duchy of Normandy, of the County of Ponthieu, and also of the lands which he had conquered from his adversary in France, Brittany, and elsewhere, and also of the *obeisance* of Flanders, of which he is seized, to hold freely without homage or other service," he would give up his claims to the Crown. The Chamberlain then said, that the King had received no answer to this proposal, and therefore thought it necessary to prepare for war with France; but that, for this purpose, he required a large sum of money. The Parliament approved of the King's plans, and granted a subsidy for three years; after which, as usual, the Commons presented their petitions for the redress of grievances.[3]

A.D. 1353.

ment and statement of the failure of efforts for peace.

War subsidy granted.

[1] He was also Constable of Dover and Guardian of the Cinque Ports.—Rymer, vol. iii. p. 255.

[2] "This Henry, also called Tort-col or with the Wry Neck, was the only son of Henry, Earl of Lancaster (younger brother of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, beheaded at Pontefract in 1322), second son of Edmund, also Earl of Lancaster, who was the second son of King Henry the Third. He was created Earl of Derby, on March 16, 1337, became Earl of Lancaster and Leicester on the death of his father in 1345; he was created Earl of Lincoln in 1349, and Duke of Lancaster in 1351, it being the second dukedom created in England since the Norman Conquest, the Duchy of Cornwall being the first."—Sandford's *Genealogical History*, p. 112.

[3] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 252.

A.D.1353. Considering that it was the great object of the Kings of France to consolidate the whole of France into one kingdom, and to extinguish the feudatories, it was hardly to be expected that John would agree to these terms; and it appears, indeed, that soon after the King's communication to his Parliament, the French negotiators declared, that there was not a gentleman in France, who would not rather lose his life, than consent to such an arrangement.[1]

Renewed negotiations for peace.

At the request of the Pope, notwithstanding the apparent hopelessness of success, Edward still continued to treat for peace. The treaty, which had been prolonged till the 11th November, was again extended for a fortnight.[2] So strenuous, however, were the Pope's efforts to prevent war, that early in November, although he had just received the grant of a subsidy for carrying it on, Edward, at the Pope's instance, again sent ambassadors to France; but he took care to let the Pope know that he had done

A.D. 1354. so at his request.[3] No success attended these endeavours; the treaty expired, and no further efforts for its renewal were made, till March 30th, 1354. At that time, Edward again offered to give up all claims to the Crown of France, for the sake of peace; a few days afterwards, on April 6th, a treaty was signed, agreeing to a truce, which was to last till the 1st April, 1355.[4] In this treaty, no conditions were made as to the claims of the King of England to Aquitaine; but it is certain they were not abandoned. It is stated, both by Avesbury[5] and Walsingham,[6] that the condition of peace was, that

[1] See Carte, vol. ii. p. 486.
[2] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 266.
[3] Ibid. pp. 268 and 269.
[4] Ibid. pp. 275 and 277.
[5] P. 196.
[6] P. 278.

Aquitaine should be restored. It was, however, agreed that both Kings should send their ambassadors to the Pope on the 1st of October, to arrange for the conversion of the truce into a permanent peace. The Dukes of Lancaster and Bourbon, who, with some others, were the appointed negotiators, met accordingly; but the French entirely repudiated the conditions previously agreed on. At length, in January 1355, the ambassadors separated; all attempts at peace were entirely abandoned; and Edward immediately made preparations, for the invasion of France by his son the Prince of Wales.

A.D. 1354.

A.D. 1355.

Their failure.

Before relating the history of that brilliant campaign, in which the Prince of Wales gained so great renown, and which raised the military glory of England to a height never before attained, it is necessary to give an account of the quarrels, between the King of France and the King of the little kingdom of Navarre, as they had a considerable influence over the English wars, both in France and Spain.

History of the quarrels between France and Navarre.

As already stated, Navarre had become a kingdom independent of France, on the accession of Joan, daughter of Louis the Tenth of France, to the throne of Navarre. Joan's son, Charles the Bad, whose sister was the widow of Philip of Valois, was now on the throne; but he had also, as heir of Louis Count of Evreux, brother of Philip the Fair, possessions in Normandy. As Charles was thus, an independent sovereign and a feudatory of the King of France, it was obviously important to the latter, to be on terms of friendship with him. John therefore invited Charles to Paris, and offered him in marriage his eldest daughter Joan, then only eight years old. The affiance took place, but turned out a cause of

A.D. 1355.

Marriage between Charles the Bad and John's daughter the cause of the quarrel, because of John's treachery to Charles.

enmity rather than friendship between the two Kings. John had promised a dowry with his daughter, but did not fulfil his promise; and, moreover, neglected to pay Charles a rent of 15,000 livres, secured to his family on the counties of Angoulême and Mortain, in exchange for the counties of Champagne and Brie. These latter counties, had belonged to the kingdom of Navarre, from the accession of Thibaud to that throne in 1234, until the death of Louis the Tenth in 1316, when, without any pretext, they were separated from it, and a rent, secured on the counties of Angoulême and Mortain, was granted in exchange. Angoulême being on the English frontier, had suffered so much from constant warfare, that the rent could not be paid. Charles, therefore, gave both it and Mortain up to John, demanding some other security for the payment of the rent; his demand was not acceded to, and Charles had the mortification of finding that John had not only defrauded him, but that he had actually given the counties to his favourite, Charles of Spain, whom he had created Constable of France in 1350. This Charles of Spain was the grandson of Fernando and son of Alphonso de la Cerda, the claims of whose family to the throne of Castile were warmly supported by the King of France; he was younger brother of Louis of Spain, who had defended the coasts of Brittany against the English in 1342, and was afterwards proclaimed King of the Fortunate Isles by the Pope.[1] John also brought about a marriage between Charles of Spain and Margaret, daughter of Charles of Blois, the rival claimant to the Duchy of Brittany in opposition to the Count of Montfort.

Jealousy between Charles the Bad and Charles of Spain.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. pp. 379, 406, and 411.

These various circumstances, thoroughly irritated Charles of Navarre against both his father-in-law King John, and against Charles of Spain, on the latter of whom he was determined to take a bloody revenge. Charles of Navarre had chosen Evreux as his residence; for it was, as he considered, the capital city of his French possessions, and in the neighbourhood of l'Aigle, a town which Charles of Spain could hardly fail to visit, as he had received it in dowry with his wife Margaret. In the beginning of 1354, the King of Navarre received intelligence that Charles of Spain had arrived at l'Aigle, and that he would sleep in a house outside the town on the 8th of January. On that night, the King went with a body of Norman and Navarrese knights to l'Aigle, and, while he himself lay concealed in a neighbouring barn, sent them on to assassinate Charles. They forced the house, penetrated into the chamber where he lay, and murdered him. On hearing the loud cry of the assassins, "*C'est fait*," as they came out of the house, the King mounted his horse and galloped back to Evreux, barring the gates and doubling the guards as soon as he was safe within the walls. King John's rage may be easily imagined; but the King of Navarre was too powerfully supported for John to venture on going to war with him, and a treaty of peace between the two Kings was signed on February 22nd, 1354.[1] But it was very hollow, for the King of France in his heart could not forgive the King of Navarre; in the course of the summer, he managed to gain over some of the friends of the latter, who revealed to him the secret history of the plot which ended in the murder of Charles. On

A.D. 1355.

Charles of Navarre murders Charles of Spain.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 412.

A.D. 1355. hearing this, the King of Navarre escaped to Avignon, concealing his name and the place whither he was going.[1] Shortly afterwards, John went to Normandy, and demanded that the fortresses belonging to the King of Navarre, in that country, should be given up to him. Those of Evreux, Pont-Audemer, Cherbourg, Gairay, Avranches, and Mortain refused; but the others opened their gates to him. John then endeavoured to take Evreux and Pont-Audemer by force, and war thus broke out between the two Kings.

Charles the Bad flees to Avignon.

John attempts the Norman fortresses belonging to Charles the Bad, but some resist.

While at Avignon, the King of Navarre made a vain attempt at reconciliation with the King of France;[2] failing in this, he turned to the Duke of Lancaster, who had been sent to Avignon, on the fruitless mission of negotiating a peace with France. "The King of Navarre went often to the Duke, complaining of the grievances, wrongs, and duress he had suffered from the King of France, affirming, and taking his oath, that he would willingly enter into alliance with Edward."[3] The Duke, therefore, promised that the alliance should take place, if it pleased the King; and that, if it did so, he would send troops to Guernsey and Jersey to help him. The King of Navarre also sent a messenger, named Colin Doublet, to England, proposing an alliance with Edward, offering to give up various fortresses in Normandy to him in order to facilitate his making war on France, and promising to land at Cherbourg with troops. This was about the time that the negotiations for peace between England and France were finally broken off,[4] and consequently the King's messenger was well

The King of Navarre negotiates with the Duke of Lancaster for an alliance with England.

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 417.
[2] Ibid. p. 418.
[3] Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 264.
[4] Ibid. p. 254.

received by Edward, who forthwith determined to send three separate armies to France. One, under the King himself, was to land at Cherbourg, where the King of Navarre was to meet him; the second, under the Duke of Lancaster, was to go to Brittany to defend the Countess of Montfort against Charles of Blois, who had paid his ransom and been released from prison; the third, and greatest, under the command of the Prince of Wales, was to land at Bordeaux.[1] The first of these armies was prevented by storms from reaching its destination;[2] the second

A.D. 1355.

Alliance settled and consequent plans for the invasion of France by three armies.

[1] Froissart, vol. i. p. 304.

[2] There is considerable obscurity and confusion about the history of this period, and especially as to three points, viz. a supposed visit of Charles of Navarre to England, the expedition of Edward to Normandy, and that of the Duke of Lancaster to Brittany. With regard to the first, Froissart states that, after landing with his troops at Cherbourg, the King of Navarre went personally to England to visit the King, and to arrange with him for an attack on France. No other historian mentions this visit to England (see Buchon's edition, p. 303, note). James (vol. ii. p. 142) is of opinion that Froissart's account is true, but the reason he gives seems to be evidence to the contrary. In support of his view he quotes Edward's order relative to providing ships to take the Prince of Wales to Gascony (July 16, 1355. Rymer vol. iii. p. 308). The King says, "Whereas we have understood that the ships of Bayonne, which carried (duxerunt) the King of Navarre, have lately come to Southampton." Had these ships brought the King of Navarre to England, the King would certainly have said so, and he would not have used the expression "we have understood" (intelleximus), for if the King of Navarre had come to visit him, he would have known well enough where the ships were; and if they had brought the King of Navarre to England, they would have been wanted to take him back again, and would not have been "arrested" to take the Prince of Wales to Gascony. With reference to the second expedition, it is at first difficult to disbelieve Froissart's circumstantial account (vol. i. p. 304), but there can be but little doubt that his statement that

A.D. 1355 was driven back by the same storms as those which delayed Edward, and did not sail for Brittany till the following year, although the King appointed the Duke of Lancaster his lieutenant in Brittany in the middle of September;[1] the third, of which an account will be given hereafter, sailed from England in August.

According to his promise, the King of Navarre went from Avignon to his own kingdom to raise

Edward remained seven weeks at Guernsey is incorrect. Froissart says that the King embarked at Southampton, that after one day they were obliged to return to the Isle of Wight by contrary winds, that they were kept there fifteen days, that when they again set sail they were obliged to go to Guernsey, where they remained seven weeks before they heard of the reconciliation between France and Navarre. They must therefore have been absent from England for fully nine weeks. Now the King was at Northfleet on July 16th, then he went to Westminster, and returned to Northfleet on July 22nd; he was at Sandwich on August 2nd; Westminster, August 30th; Portsmouth, September 14th; Tower of London, September 26th; and Westminster, October 1st and 23rd. If, therefore, the King was absent at all from England during that time, he cannot have been absent so long as Froissart states. But perhaps the most conclusive authority against Froissart is the statement in the *Rolls of Parliament* (vol. ii. p. 264), "On return of the said Duke (of Lancaster, from Avignon), the King prepared a great army, and went from the Thames towards the Islands, but the wind was contrary, and with great difficulty he came to Portsmouth, and there remained till he heard the news that the King of Navarre had made friends with the King of France." With regard to the third expedition, Froissart (vol. i. p. 304) states that it arrived in Brittany, but there can be no doubt that it shared the fate of that of the King. The Duke of Lancaster embarked at Rotherhithe, the streamers of the vessels bearing his arms; on July 10th he was at Greenwich, and was beating about between that place and Sandwich till August 15th, but at last he reached the Isle of Wight, where he as well as the King heard the news of the peace between France and Navarre (see Avesbury, p. 202).

[1] See Rymer, vol. iii. p. 312.

troops, and sailed with them from Bayonne to Cherbourg early in July. He there waited the arrival of the English. In the meantime, however, King John had heard of the alliance between Edward and the King of Navarre, and doubtless also of the landing of the Prince of Wales at Bordeaux. He became greatly alarmed at the probable consequences. The King of Navarre had possession of the port of Cherbourg; and, as Evreux, Mantes, Meulan, and Pontoise, belonged to him, he could give the English a landing-place in France, and a free passage through the kingdom up to eight or nine leagues from Paris. John consequently made overtures of peace to him. Charles had probably begun to despair of the arrival of the English, and at length, after waiting in vain for nearly two months for the promised aid, gave up the English alliance and signed a treaty with the King of France on the 10th September. There was, however, no friendship between the two Kings, and the events of the following year, which will be related in due course, will show how suddenly and savagely King John took his revenge at last.

A.D. 1355.

The King of Navarre lands at Cherbourg and waits in vain for the promised assistance of Edward.

The Kings of Navarre and France make a hollow friendship.

Edward was greatly enraged at the alliance between France and Navarre, and hearing that King John was gathering together a great army, determined to invade France. He landed at Calais, accompanied, by his two sons Lionel and John of Gaunt, by the Duke of Lancaster, and others. On the 2nd November he began to ravage Artois and Picardy. King John advanced to meet him, and Edward made proposals to him in the usual chivalrous style; he asked him to wait a few days, till their forces were close together, so that they might decide the fate of the campaign by a general engagement.

Edward invades the north of France

A.D. 1355. John, however, said he would fight when it suited him, and not at the bidding of his enemies. The season was now getting late for fighting, and Edward retired to Calais. John, aware of this, followed him, and made a gasconading offer to fight with an equal number of men, either a hundred or a thousand on each side, or with their whole armies. At this time, however, Edward learnt that the Scots had taken Berwick, and were about to attack Roxburgh; he therefore resolved at once to return to England.[1]

but soon returns to England to resist the Scots.

In the meantime the Prince of Wales had landed at Bordeaux. The invasion of France, on this occasion, was conducted on a greater scale than any previous expedition; the army of the Prince of Wales, as already stated, was only one of three, destined for that purpose. But, although these three expeditions were simultaneously planned, there does not appear to have been any common plan of action among them; and, there is no indication, that their object was the acquisition of the throne of France. Had such been the case, after the battle of Poitiers, in the Prince's second campaign, when the King of France and his son were taken prisoners, there can be but little doubt that the Black Prince, as he was called after that victory, might have marched on Paris, and, by its capture, have laid the kingdom at his feet and seated himself upon the throne. Even the secure possession of Aquitaine did not seem to have been the real object of the Prince's invasion, for he never attempted to hold the towns he conquered; and indeed the whole expedition had no obvious purpose. It appears to have been but little more than a marauding foray. Its fortunately successful rash-

The invasion of France without any definite purpose.

The Prince of Wales might have seated himself on the throne of France.

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 309; and Avesbury, p. 204.

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Edw.d Weller

ness, the generous courage of the Prince, and the gallantry of the troops, manifested especially in the last great victory when they fought and defeated an army tenfold greater than their own, blind one to the real character of the invasion. Its principal result, as will be shown, was the acquisition of plunder. There was certainly added to this, the love of fighting for fighting's sake, which was as much a characteristic of the age of chivalry, as the love of field sports and the passion for adventurous exploration, are of the present day. A.D. 1355.

The invasion of France by the Prince of Wales was for the sake of plunder and love of fighting.

The Prince of Wales was now only twenty-four years of age, and the invasion of Aquitaine was the first expedition which had been entrusted to him alone. The Gascon nobles—"The Lord of Pommiers, the Lord of Rosem, the Lord de l'Esparre, and the Lord of Mucident"—had sent to England to beg the King to send his son over to them, and they promised to help him "to make good war."[1] Great preparations were therefore made. On the 10th March, orders were issued for the securing of ships for the passage of the Earl of Warwick and others about to proceed to Gascony. On the 27th April, the ships thus collected from the four great naval divisions of the coast, viz., from the Thames to Lynn in Norfolk, from Lynn to Berwick-on-Tweed, from London to Exeter, and from Exeter to Denbigh in North Wales, were ordered to assemble at Southampton to convey the Prince of Wales to Gascony. On July 16th, the King wrote to the custodes of Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, and Sark, stating that, whereas he had heard that the ships which took the King of Navarre from Bayonne had arrived at Southampton or somewhere

Preparations for the invasion.

Ships provided.

[1] Froissart, vol. i. p. 304.

A.D. 1355. within the Isle of Wight, he ordered them to seize all the ships they could find on the sea, or in harbour, and to take them to Southampton, or to Plymouth, according to future instructions, for the same purpose. Thousands of hurdles, or fascines, which were used for crossing swamps, for the protection of bowmen or gunners, and to cover the moveable towers or cats to protect those inside from stones, were ordered; as were also numbers of portable bridges; and the armourers were so fully employed, that they raised their prices and hid their stores of weapons in order to sell them at a higher rate. The King, of course, would not allow this, and appointed men to estimate the value of the armour, taking into consideration the worth of the metal and the amount of work bestowed upon it, and to fix a fair price at which it should be sold.[1]

HURDLES.
Brit. Mus. MS. Royal, 14 E. IV. date about 1470.

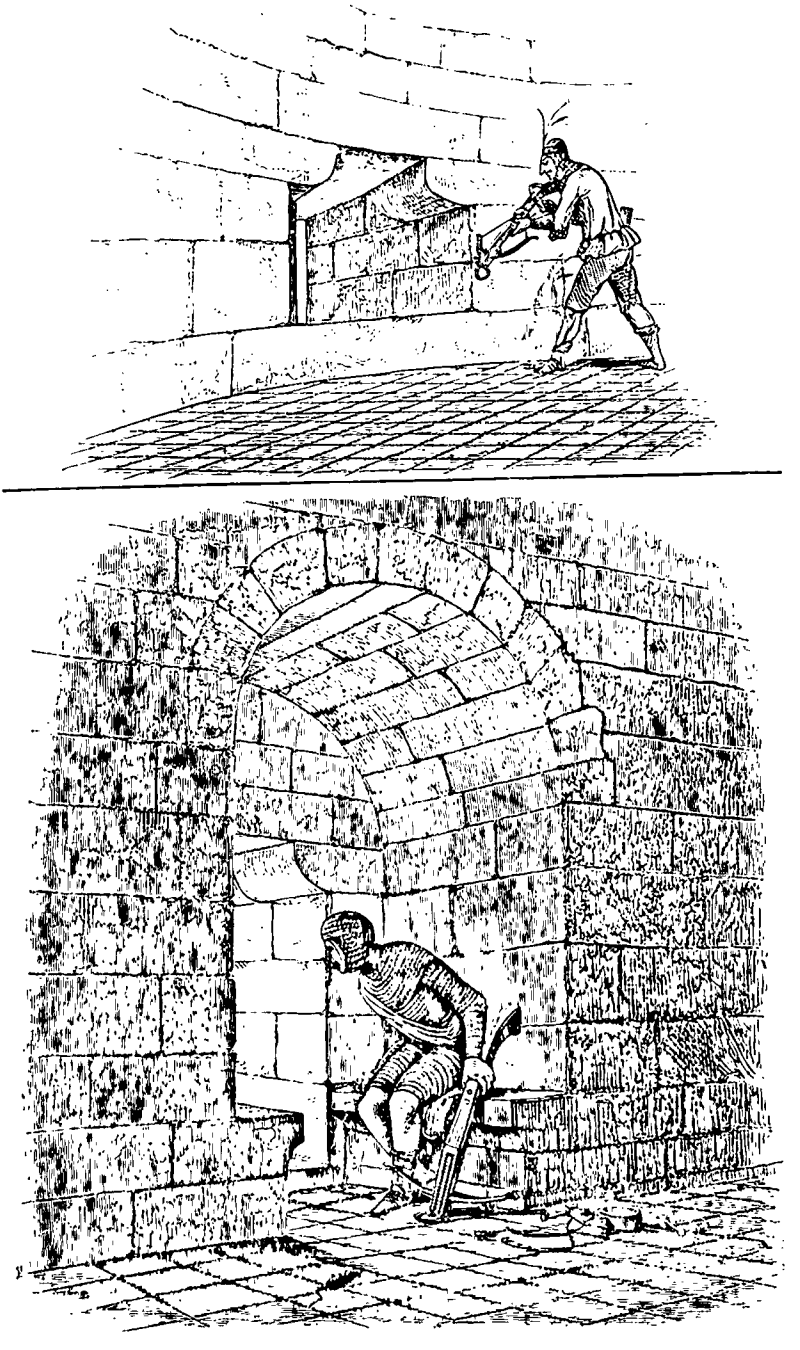
Dispute with the armourers.

Export of horses forbidden.

Early in the year, on January 20th, the export of horses from England had been forbidden; but as it was not practicable to collect a sufficient number for the invasion, the King, on July 22nd, shortly before the expedition set sail, wrote to the Constable of Bordeaux with reference to any horses which the Prince might buy on his arrival, ordering him to have them marked, according to custom. On the 1st June, he wrote to the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and all the bishops, ordering them to pray for the success of the expedition. On July 10th, all being nearly ready, he appointed his son his lieutenant in Aquitaine and other parts, giving him power to make treaties, and do everything necessary for the main-

Edward gives the Prince full power to act in his name.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 297, 298, 303, and 308.



CROSSBOWMEN.

From Viollet-le-Duc's Dict. de l'Architecture.

tenance and exercise of his authority; and on August 4th, a few days before the Prince sailed, he gave him power to receive the homage of all from whom it was due.[1] A.D. 1355.

The Prince left London for Plymouth on the 30th June, but was delayed there by contrary winds till the 8th September, when he set sail and arrived at Bordeaux after a quick passage. He was accompanied by the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford, and had with him 1,000 men-at-arms, 2,000 bowmen, and a large number of Welshmen.[2] On the arrival of the Prince at Bordeaux, about Michaelmas,[3] he called together the Gascon Lords who had requested him to come, and other Lords of the country, and arranged with them the plan of a campaign. This was, that they should at once attack the towns in the South of France. It was getting late in the year, and consequently if operations were to be begun before winter set in, there was no time to lose. There were no great armies in that part of France to oppose their progress; it was not necessary to advance far from the English territory; the season had been very dry, and they could therefore easily pass the Garonne, the waters of which had not been so low for twenty years. For these reasons a short campaign in the South was resolved on.

The Prince lands at Bordeaux.

The Prince and the Gascon nobles plan the campaign.

On the 10th October they took to horse.[4] The united forces consisted of 1,500 lances, 1,100 bowmen, 3,000 *bidaus*,[5] "besides the varlets which the Gascons

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 303, 307, 309, and 312.

[2] Avesbury, p. 201.

[3] Froissart, vol. i. p. 314.

[4] Walsingham, p. 279.

[5] Light troops, armed with darts, a lance, and a dagger.—*Glossary to Buchon's Froissart.*

A.D. 1355. took with them."[1] During the whole of this expedition there were no particularly brilliant feats of arms. Plunder and burning of towns, when not too strong to be assaulted with safety, seemed to be its object; and, that better part of valour, which consists in discretion, and which in this campaign induced the allies to abstain from attacking citadels, was, as will be seen, its chief characteristic. Even Froissart, the eulogist of the Black Prince, designated this army as robbers.[2] The little army passed the Garonne at Sainte-Marie, three leagues above Toulouse, and the Prince made a feint of attacking it, but changed his plans, and passed it by. On the day of his arrival before the city, there was a little skirmishing between the reconnoitring parties of the English and the garrison of the town, and the English took a few prisoners. The next day, they marched in grand battle array, with banners flying, almost up to the gates of Toulouse. The garrison expected an immediate attack, and were anxious to sally out and attack the English; but the Count of Armagnac, who defended the town, would not permit it, saying they were not so much used to war as the English and the Gascons, and that they could not do better than guard their town. On the other hand, the English saw that "if they attacked them the Toulousians would defend themselves, and passed peaceably beyond, without saying anything."[3] They then went on to Mont Giscar, which they took, burnt, and plundered. "There was great persecution of men, women, and children, which was a pity," says Froissart. Avignonet was

They cross the Garonne.

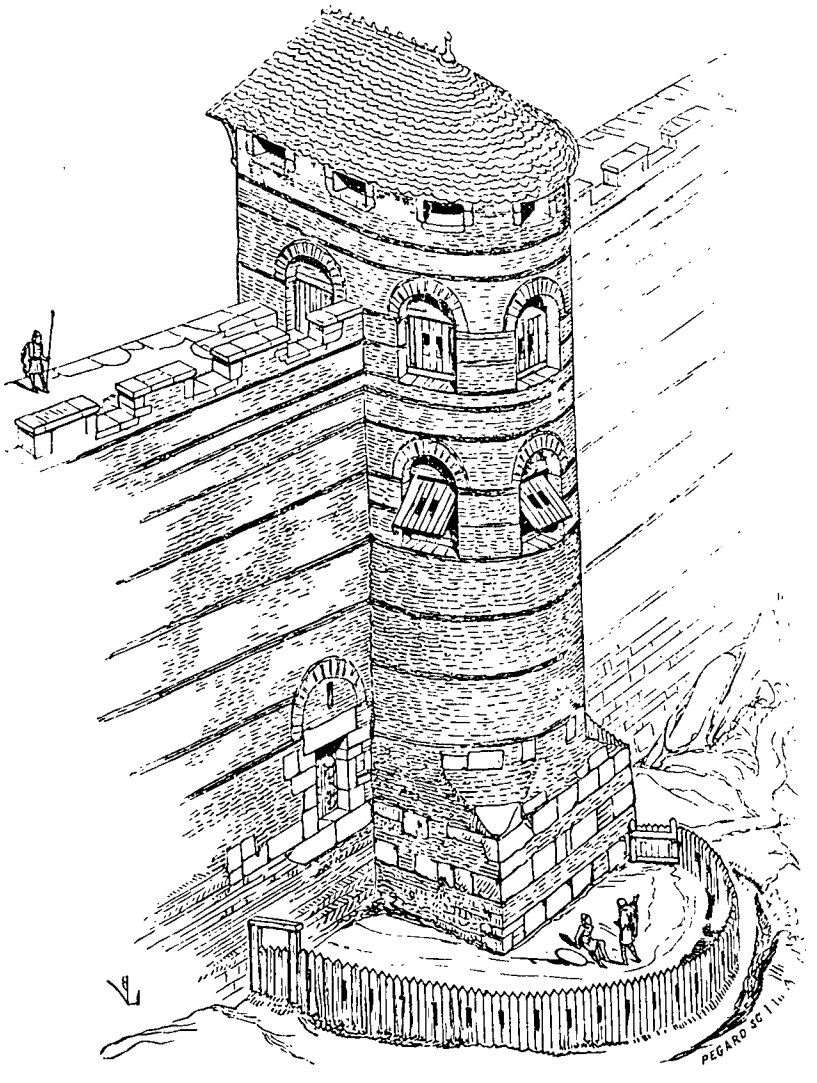
They pass Toulouse without attacking it.

They sack Mont Giscar, Avignonet, and Neuf Châtel d'Aury.

[1] Froissart, vol. i. p. 314.

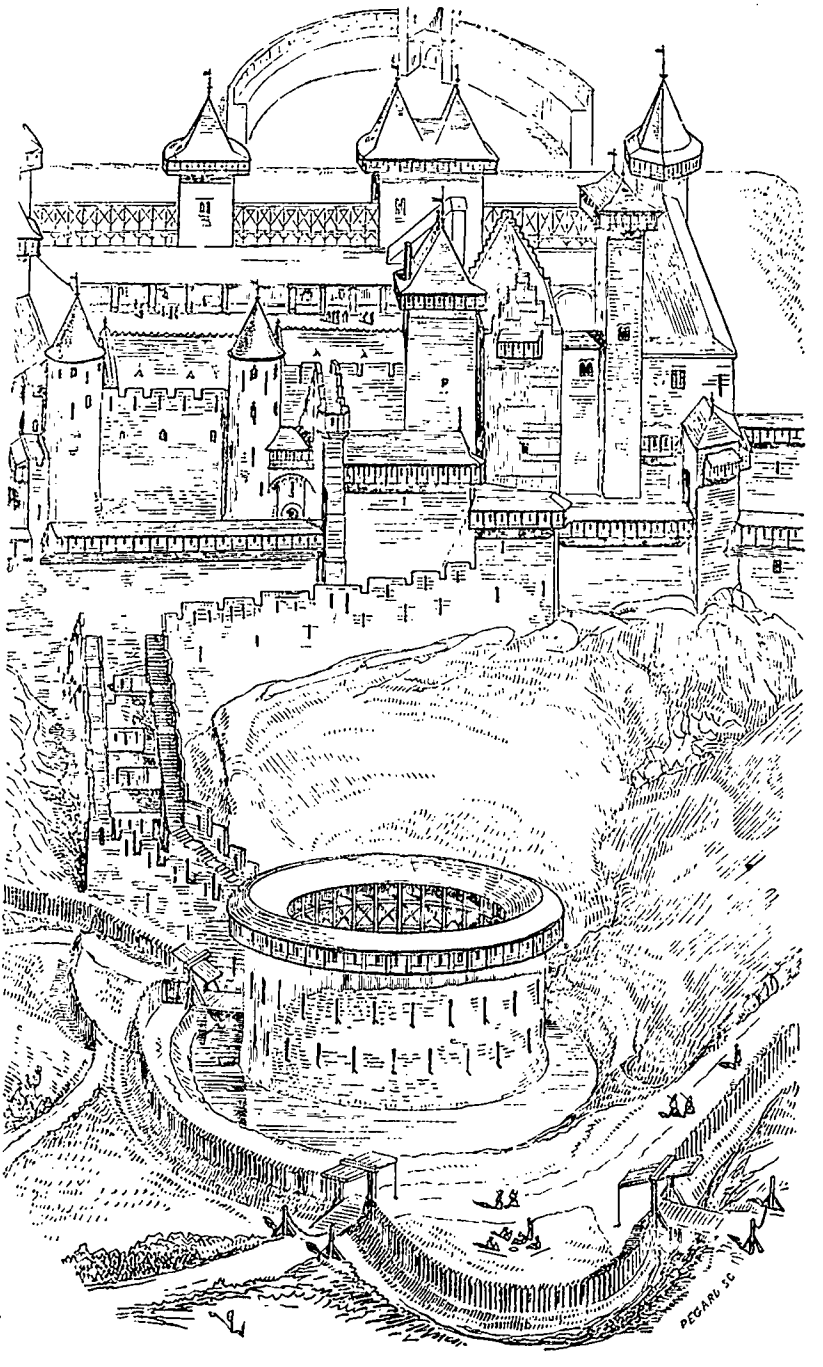
[2] *Ces pillards.* Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 315.

[3] Ibid. vol. i. p. 314.



TOWER AT CARCASSONNE.

From Viollet-le-Duc's Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF CARCASSONNE.

From Viollet-le-Duc's Essay on the Military Architecture of the Middle Ages.

treated in the same way, and also Neuf Châtel d'Aury: and then the plunderers marched on towards Carcassonne. "You must know," says Froissart, "that this was, before, one of the fat countries of the world, the people good and simple, who did not know what war was, and no war had ever been waged against them before the Prince of Wales came. The English and Gascons found the country full and gay, the rooms furnished with carpets and draperies, the caskets and chests full of beautiful jewels. But nothing was safe from these robbers. They, especially the Gascons, who are very greedy, carried off everything." A.D. 1355.

They attack Carcassonne.

Carcassonne was stronger and better defended than Mont Giscar, and the assailants displayed somewhat greater gallantry. The citadel was on a high rock, well defended by walls and towers; but the city was open, and, in accordance with a frequent custom, defended only by chains drawn across the streets behind which the citizens stood. The English knights leaped their horses over the chains, and drove back the citizens from one to another till at last they obtained possession of the town. Carcassonne was so rich that the allies remained in it eleven days collecting plunder, resting themselves and their horses, and planning how they should attack the citadel. They came, however, to the prudent but hardly gallant conclusion that it was too strong; so they marched out of the city without attempting to take it. As they passed under its walls, they were assailed by a discharge of cannons and springalds, "which wounded some," but the robbers were not to be provoked into a conflict from which nothing but honour was to be gained. The fear of the English now went before them; town after town made terms,

A.D. 1355. and paid them handsomely on condition of not being attacked. Ourmes and Trèbes escaped in this manner, and the Prince then attacked Narbonne, which he took without much difficulty. Here the invaders found so much property, that they did not know what to do with it. This city, like Carcassonne, was provided with a citadel which did not surrender, and the Prince thought of attacking it, "because he was told that if they took it they would find in it so much gold and silver, jewels and rich prisoners, that the poorest of them would be rich for ever." Skirmishing went on between the garrison and the English, but the citadel was well defended, and the attack was given up. The prospect of a rich harvest of plunder, but which required bold reaping, was abandoned, and away went the English again after burning the town. The Prince of Wales thought it was now time to return, with the spoils with which he was heavily laden, to Bordeaux; accordingly, to the great joy of the cities which were expecting an attack, he turned his steps thither.[1]

Various towns pay ransom to avoid attack.

They plunder Narbonne.

The allies commence their return loaded with plunder.

The French prepare to attack them,

but are seized with a panic and fly.

While the English were continuing their successful raid in the rich districts of the South of France, the Count of Armagnac had been busy collecting a large force to attack them, and issued forth from Toulouse with that intention; but on the English, on their way back to Bordeaux with their spoils, showing a determination to resist, he retreated into Toulouse. Soon after the arrival of the Prince before that city, a small body of the French were defeated in a skirmish, and their whole army was seized with a panic and fled.[2]

[1] Froissart, vol. i. book i. part ii. chap. 19.

[2] Froissart (p. 321) states that the English "passed peaceably under the good city of Toulouse with their horses so loaded with

After this the Prince quietly proceeded to Bordeaux, heavily laden with his spoils, and arrived there in safety, probably without losing a single man. He then dismissed the Gascon soldiers to their homes, promising to lead them next year into France by another route where they would have more booty still.[1] A.D. 1355. Return of the Prince to Bordeaux.

The Prince of Wales employed his troops during the winter in minor operations, and more legitimate objects than burning and plundering, for he added five fortified towns and seventeen castles to the English possessions in less than a month.[2]

Before giving an account of the Prince's second and more glorious campaign, it is necessary to return to the doings of the King of France, and relate the history of the events, which had prevented him from defending the South of his kingdom from the incursions of the English. His extravagance, and the continual expenses of the war, had reduced his treasury to a very low ebb, and in order to extricate himself from difficulties which to him singly were insurmountable, he called together the States General. Nothing but extreme necessity could have induced him to take such a step, for the Kings of France were most unwilling to allow their subjects a voice in the government, and a long time had elapsed since the States General had been assembled. Had the French been able to avail themselves of the opportunity thus

The occupations of the King of France and the causes which prevented his sending an army to resist the Prince of Wales.

Want of money and consequent assemblage of the States General.

spoil that they could hardly move," and that the Toulousians were very angry at their passing without fighting; but the account here given is in accordance with the minutely circumstantial letters of the Prince of Wales, and of John de Wyngfield, published by Robert of Avesbury (see pp. 213-227).

[1] Froissart, vol. i. p. 322.

[2] James's *Black Prince*, vol. ii. p. 157.

A.D.1355. given them, they might at that time have insisted on the annual meeting of the States, on their having complete control over taxation and expenditure, and have laid the foundation of a constitutional system which might have preserved the monarchy to the present day. But the country was so great in extent, communication from one part to another so difficult, and those who came to the meeting of the States General were, from long disuse, so utterly unaccustomed to the management of public affairs, and so strange to each other, that the men of the north and south and east and west were almost different nations, without any unity of interest. From these various causes, the people lost a golden opportunity of reforming abuses, and possibly also of firmly establishing Parliamentary Government in France.

Langue d'oc and Langue d'oil.

France was composed, as it were, of two kingdoms, in one of which the *Roman wallon* called the Langue d'oil, from the use of the word *oil*, *oui*, for affirmation, and in the other, the *Roman provençal* called the Langue d'oc, from the use of *oc* for a similar purpose, was the language spoken. The country of the Langue d'oil was governed by custom, and that of Langue d'oc by written law.[1] It was the

[1] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 427. "But the glory of the Provençal tongue did not last altogether for much more than a century; and then when it had ceased to be employed in poetry and literature, and had declined into a mere provincial patois, it and the Northern French were wont to be severally distinguished by the names of the Langue d'oc (sometimes called by modern writers the Occitanian) and the Langue d'oyl, from the words for *yes*, which were *oc* in the one, and *oyl*, afterwards *oy* or *oui*, in the other. Dante mentions them by these appellations, and with this explanation, in his treatise De Vulgari Eloquio, written in the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century."—Craik's *History of English Literature*, vol. i. p. 103.

States General of the first division only that were called together. They met on November 30th, 1355, and naturally availed themselves of the King's needs to obtain various important reforms in the administration of the kingdom. They granted him ample supplies both in men and money, on condition that the Receivers General and all financial administrators should be placed under the superintendence of a committee of nine, elected by the assembly from among its own members.[1] The money, however, was to be levied by means of a tax on salt, which was always most obnoxious to the French nation, and of a tax of 8*d.* in the pound on everything that was sold. The States had only two or three days granted them to decide how the necessary money should be raised. They were told that the treasury was empty; the payment of all debts was suspended, the coin debased, the arsenals without munitions, the troops dispersed and discouraged by defeat, and they were required to find a remedy for all these evils within a few hours. In addition to these difficulties the members of the assembly were entirely unacquainted with finance, and the accounts were kept on so cumbrous a system, Roman instead of Arabic numerals being used, that they would have been difficult of comprehension even to practised accountants. It was no wonder, therefore, that the two taxes which they in their hurry imposed, were so ill selected as to prove oppressive.[2]

A.D. 1355.

The States General grant unpopular taxes.

The salt tax was unpopular in the extreme; and in Normandy, the King of Navarre, the Count of Har-

The taxes are resisted in Normandy

[1] Martin's *History of France*, vol. v. p. 159.

[2] Sismondi, vol. x. p. 445, who states that the accounts of France were kept on the same system until the 18th century.

A.D. 1355. court, and other nobles, declared they would not submit to it. At this the King of France was greatly irritated, and resolved on vengeance; he soon had an opportunity of carrying his intentions into execution.

A.D. 1356. Just at this time, his eldest son, the Dauphin Charles, to whom he had given the Duchy of Normandy in 1355, held his Court at Rouen, and, in concert with his father, had invited various nobles to dine with him on Saturday, April 16th. The King of Navarre and the Count of Harcourt were among those who accepted the invitation; although Philip of Navarre, the brother of the one, and Godfrey of Harcourt, brother of the other, fearing treachery, refused to attend. They were hardly seated at table when the King of France entered, preceded by a Marshal with a drawn sword in his hand. "Let no one move, or he shall die by this sword," cried the Marshal. The nobles rose in terror to make their reverence to the King; but John, seizing the King of Navarre, shook him roughly, saying, "By the beard of my father, I will neither eat nor drink so long as you are alive." A knight in attendance on the King of Navarre drew his knife, and declared he would kill King John; but John ordered both him and his master to be seized by his serjeants. He then turned to the Count of Harcourt, and slapping him rudely on the back, ordered him off to prison. The King then dined with his nobles, and afterwards, mounting their horses, they rode to a field called the Field of Mercy. On that field, the Count of Harcourt and other nobles of Normandy were executed. The King of Navarre and two others were sent to prison in Paris.

Bloody revenge of the King of France on the King of Navarre and other Norman nobles.

When Philip of Navarre and Godfrey of Harcourt heard of this treacherous outrage, they, and more than twenty other nobles of Normandy, sent their defiance to King John, "calling himself King of France," put their castles in order, and prepared to defend themselves. Philip and Godfrey then went over to England, to secure the friendship of Edward, who had just returned from his Scotch campaign. A.D. 1356. The Norman nobles defy the King of France and ally themselves with the King of England.

They presented themselves before him at Sheen, and offered to put him in possession of the various castles in Normandy belonging to the King of Navarre and the Count of Harcourt, if he would grant them help. "My cousin, the Duke of Lancaster," said Edward, "is on the frontiers of Brittany; I will write to him and order him to join you with all his men, to make good war against your enemies." Having received this promise, they quickly departed from England, and sailed for Cherbourg to meet the Duke.[1] On Har- Edward promises to help the Norman nobles.

[1] Robert of Avesbury, who gives a minute account (p. 245, &c.) of the joint expedition of the Duke of Lancaster and the Norman nobles, which bears the impress of truth, agrees with Froissart in stating that both Philip and Godfrey were present with it. Their statement is however of, at least, doubtful correctness. If Philip and Godfrey went to England, they cannot have arrived there before June 24th, as that is the date of their letters of safe conduct (Rymer, vol. iii. p. 331); but, according to Avesbury, they left Cherbourg with the Duke of Lancaster on or before the 22nd. The whole of Froissart's story of the interview with Edward, and of the statement of both Froissart and Avesbury that Philip and Godfrey were present with the Duke's army, falls therefore, apparently, to the ground; but it is more probable that there is some error as to the date of their coming, than that the account given by Froissart and Avesbury, which in the main agree, is incorrect on that point. It may be that Philip went alone to England, and that Godfrey remained in Normandy; for, on the one hand, the visit of Philip to England

A.D. 1356. court's arrival at St. Sauveur le Vicomte, the Duke of Lancaster, on July the 18th, received his recognition of Edward as his feudal superior, and his homage for the fiefs he held in Cotentin.[1]

The Duke of Lancaster marches from Brittany to join them.

The Duke of Lancaster had sailed from England for Normandy on June 1st, accompanied by the claimant to the Duchy of Brittany, John of Montfort, son of the gallant Duchess. His forces consisted of 500 men-at-arms and 800 bowmen. The object of this expedition was to assist De Montfort in the recovery of his duchy; but it had landed in Normandy, on account of its greater proximity to England. The Duke entered Brittany, but had no sooner done so, than he received orders from Edward, to join the nobles of Normandy, and assist them in the recovery of their fortresses. He accordingly marched from Pont Orson to Cherbourg, where he was met by Philip and Godfrey, with 100 soldiers of the country, and by Sir Robert Knolles, who brought with him, from the garrisons of Brittany, 300 men-at-arms and 500 bowmen. The united forces marched from Cherbourg to Montebourg; thence, on June 22nd, to Carentan; on the 24th by St. Lo to Thury on the Orne; on the 26th to Frosseye;[2] on the 27th by Caen to Argentyne;[3] on the 28th by the bridge of Corbon on the Vie to Lisieux;

The allies march through Normandy

is rendered almost unquestionable by the existence of a letter of safe conduct for his return from England, dated August 20th, and on the other, there is presumptive evidence of the presence (Rymer, vol. iii. p. 338) of Godfrey with the expedition, in the fact of his doing homage to the Duke of Lancaster for the King of England, at St. Sauveur le Vicomte on July 18th (Rymer, p. 332), shortly after the return of the Duke from l'Aigle.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 332.

[2] This place cannot now be identified. Buchon.

[3] Probably Angences, on the Meance. Ibid.

and, on the 29th, to Pont Audemer, a castle belonging to the King of Navarre, which was then under siege. The siege was abandoned, on the approach of the allies; they remained there, to repair the damages done by the besiegers, till July 2nd, and then marched to the Abbey of Bec-herlewin. On the 3rd they proceeded to Conches, attacked the castle and set it on fire, and, marching the next day to Breteuil, the siege of which they raised, went on the same day to the relief of Verneuil. A.D. 1355.

as far as Verneuil, and then retreat.

Here, the Duke of Lancaster heard of the approach of the French, with a vastly superior force, commanded by the King in person, who had declared, that he would not return to Paris, until he had fought the English, "if they dared to wait for him." He therefore thought it prudent, to beat his retreat towards Cherbourg, and reached l'Aigle on July 8th, when he was overtaken by the French. In order to avoid the necessity of fighting with such odds against him, he retreated during the night, leaving a small body of horsemen posted behind the hedges, so as to present the appearance of his army being still in position; when the King of France discovered the trick, it was too late for pursuit. The Duke of Lancaster, Philip of Navarre, and the greater part of the army went to Cherbourg; the others escaped to their own towns.[1]

The French pursue them, but the English escape without fighting.

[1] I have been thus minute in relating the details of this campaign, which I have taken from Avesbury (p. 245, &c.), first, on account of the difficulty of reconciling the statements of Avesbury and Froissart with the documents showing the probability of Philip and Godfrey being in England at the time those writers state they were in Normandy, and to justify, by showing the exactness of Avesbury's statements, my belief in his account; and secondly, on account of another singular discrepancy between

A.D. 1356.

Duke of Lancaster returns to Brittany.

Shortly after this, the campaign in Normandy having come to an end, the Duke of Lancaster returned to Brittany, to resume the campaign in that country, of which, on August 8th, Edward, in the name of himself and John of Montfort, appointed him Captain.[1]

the narratives of Froissart and Avesbury. Froissart gives no account whatever of the progress of the allies from Cherbourg to Verneuil, but says that they gathered their forces together at Evreux (several days' march from Cherbourg), and that they marched thence to Vernon, Acquigny and Pacy, and so on up to the city of Rouen, of which they burned the suburbs. From thence he describes their retreat to l'Aigle and Cherbourg. The exactness of the dates given by Avesbury induces me to prefer his account.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 335.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE BATTLE OF POITIERS.

WHEN the Duke of Lancaster retreated from l'Aigle, the King of France continued his endeavours, to obtain complete possession of Normandy. He first returned to Evreux, and besieged it. The town made a strong resistance, but after a time was forced to surrender, and the French then attacked the city, which was well defended with walls and ditches. After some trouble, this also was compelled to yield; but the castle still resisted, and seven weeks elapsed, before the King obtained possession of it. The French then went on to Breteuil, the siege of which is remarkable, as being the first occasion, on which the use of cannons is mentioned by Froissart, although, as already stated, they were certainly used at the siege of Calais. He says, "the garrison were provided with cannons throwing fire and great bolts to destroy everything;" and he adds, that the fire was Greek fire. Earl Douglas of Scotland, and Henry of Trastamare, one of the illegitimate sons of Alphonso XI. by Leonora de Guzman, fought on the side of the French during this siege.

A.D. 1356.

King of France returns to Evreux,

and takes it after seven weeks.

He then besieges Breteuil about August 21st.

While the King of France was thus endeavouring to obtain possession of Normandy, Prince Edward had set out on the campaign, which was crowned by the victory at Poitiers, and was ravaging the central

Progress of the Prince of Wales;

A.D. 1356. parts of France. On July 6th[1] he left Bordeaux[2] with 2,000 men-at-arms and 6,000 bowmen, in addition to the barons and knights who accompanied him on his former expedition. He crossed the Garonne, and then proceeded to Bergerac, where he crossed the Dordogne;[3] thence he went through Auvergne, the Limousin, and Berri, without opposition, taking great plunder, living on the inhabitants, and burning what he could not consume or carry off.

he leaves Bordeaux July 6th.

So little communication was there in those days, between one part of the country and another, that, although the English army was not more distant from the French than London is from Exeter, no news of the Prince of Wales being in the heart of his kingdom, reached the King of France, until after the middle of August. King John was then besieging Breteuil; but, no sooner did he hear of the progress of the invaders, than he made terms with the garrison for its surrender; then, without dismissing his army, went off to Paris, to prepare for the defence of his kingdom. At Paris he hardly tarried, but went on almost immediately to Chartres; he arrived there about the beginning of September, and determined to make that city his head-quarters, as it defended the approaches to Paris, and gave him command of the passages across the Loire. There he gathered together his forces; and thence, sent out troops, to

The King of France hears of his progress, and makes terms for the surrender of Breteuil; about August 29th.

He goes to Paris, and thence to Chartres to prepare for defence.

[1] Walsingham, p. 281.

[2] According to Froissart (p. 333), the Prince had heard of the alliance between his father and the Norman nobles, and set out to help them in Normandy. The Prince's route and the dates are a sufficient refutation of this statement.

[3] Froissart (Buchon, ed. vol. i. p. 333) places Bergerac on the Garonne.

garrison all those fortresses of Anjou, Poitou, Maine, and Touraine, which were likely to be attacked by the English. A.D. 1356.

In the meantime, Prince Edward continued to advance; and met with no resistance, until he reached Bourges, of which he burned the suburbs, but could not take the city. He then diverged from his line of march, which seemed to be on Paris, to attack Issoudun. In this he was unsuccessful, and therefore returned to Vierzon, which was on his former line of march. This city was ill-defended; he therefore took it without difficulty, and, finding it well provided, remained there some days.

The Prince of Wales reaches Bourges;

he takes Vierzon.

While at Vierzon, the Prince heard that the French King was at Chartres with a large force; and, that all the towns on the banks of the Loire, and the passages across that river, were so well guarded, that it was impossible to cross it. His army was very small, and can hardly have numbered more than 8,000 men, while that of the French was at least six times as many. It would have been folly, therefore, to have attempted either to march on Paris or cross into Normandy; he consequently determined on retreating to Bordeaux, through Touraine and Poitou.

Edward hears that King John is at Chartres,

and determines to retreat to Bordeaux.

There can hardly be better evidence, that, either, the Prince's expedition was rashly planned; or, that its only object was plunder. If his object was to conquer France, the presumption of attempting it with so small a force was manifest; for, he was forced to abandon it, immediately he was threatened with serious opposition. If his object was nothing but plunder and vainglory, his retreat to Bordeaux, directly he heard that the King of France meant to fight him, is easily intelligible.

A.D. 1356. With their usual cruelty, the invaders, before leaving Vierzon, "killed the greater part of the garrison of the castle," and then marched on to Romorantin. Before they reached that city, a body of English and Poitevin knights, who had been sent forward by the Prince to skirmish and clear the way, were suddenly attacked by a similar body of about 300 lances. These were commanded by the Lords of Craon and Boucicault, and "The Hermit of Chaumont," and had been sent forward by the French King, to ascertain the position of the English. The French had followed the English for nearly a week, without finding an opportunity of attacking them; at last they pushed on beyond them, and lay in ambuscade; thus coming suddenly upon them. A sharp fight ensued, which lasted until the main body of the English army approached, when their French enemies fled to Romorantin. What then took place, is highly characteristic of the chivalrous mode of carrying on war, which, although attended, as we have seen in the Prince's campaign, with much cruelty and great love of plunder, was yet marked by great external, and sometimes much real, courtesy. When the Prince heard of the encounter, and of the escape of the French knights to Romorantin, he said, "Let us go there, I should like to see them a little nearer;" then, armed cap-a-pié, mounted on a black charger, and accompanied by his friend, "Master John Chandos," who had sung to the King on board his fleet while waiting off Sandwich for the Spaniards, he went to look at the fortress, and came to the conclusion that he could take it. So he said, "John, go to the barriers, and ask the knights whether they will surrender without being assaulted." John then went to the castle, and made signs that he

Skirmish between the French and English near Romorantin.

Siege of Romorantin.

wished to parley. After a while, Boucicault and "The Hermit of Chaumont" came down, and John said, "My Lords, I am sent to you by my Lord the Prince, who wishes to be much courteous to his enemies, as it seems to me. He says that if you will put yourselves in his prison, and give up this castle, which you cannot hold, he will take you to his mercy, and make you good company." "Master John," answered Boucicault, "many thanks to my Lord the Prince, who wishes to be so courteous to us, but we are not inclined so to do, and please God he will not have us so easily." "What, Monsieur Boucicault," said John; "do you feel yourselves such good knights as to be able to hold this fortress against the Prince, when there is seemingly no help for you on any side?" "Chandos, Chandos," replied Boucicault, "I do not hold myself to be a good knight, but it would be folly to accept such a proposal; and tell the Prince, if you please, that he can do as he likes, and that we are quite ready for him." The Prince, hearing that the garrison would not surrender, quartered his troops on the people of the town, so as to be ready to attack the castle the next day. In the morning, all the soldiers, ranged themselves under the banners of those from whom they received their pay, and began the assault. It was in vain, however, that the bowmen shot forth such clouds of arrows, that no one could show himself on the walls; in vain they swam across the moat, and hacked away at the walls; stones and pots of hot lime were cast down upon them, and night came on without any gain to the assailants. The next day, the assault was renewed, and a Gascon knight, whom Edward greatly loved, was soon among the slain. The Prince

A.D.1356.

Gallantry of the garrison.

A.D. 1356. then swore loudly, that he would not leave the place, until he had taken the fortress. No impression, however, could be made on the brave defenders; at last, cannons and Greek fire were employed, the straw roofs of the fortress set on fire, and the garrison was forced to yield. This took place on the 3rd of September, after three days' hard fighting. The Prince then marched towards Poitiers, on his way to Bordeaux.

Its capture.

Edward continues his retreat by way of Poitiers.

In the meantime, the King of France had remained at Chartres, collecting a large army. On the news reaching him—probably from some of the garrison of Romorantin—that the Prince of Wales, after penetrating so far into the very heart of his kingdom, had begun a retreat, he ordered his troops to advance and cross the Loire. He left Chartres during the first week in September, crossed the Loire at Blois on the 9th, and remained there two days; on the 12th he was at Amboise, and the next day at Loches. There he waited for news of the English, from a troop of French and Burgundian knights, whom he had told off to follow them, to hang on their skirts, and watch their movements. They reported the English, to be on their way to Poitiers through Touraine. But the information they gave was incorrect; for, after taking Romorantin, the Prince had marched through Berri. King John, accordingly, pushed on to La Haye in Touraine, on the frontiers of Poitou, believing, that the English were only a short way before him. His troops had crossed the Loire at five different places —at Orleans, Mehun, Saumur, Blois, and Tours. News now reached him, that the Prince was hurrying on towards Bordeaux as fast as he could; therefore, confident in his immensely superior force, and

The King of France orders his army to cross the Loire in pursuit of the English.

The French are misinformed as to the position of the English.

fearing that the English would escape, he pushed on to Chauvigny, where he arrived on the evening of Thursday the 15th September. The next day, with a part of his army, he crossed the Vienne, expecting to find the English on the other side; another part of his army, passed the river at Chatelherault. The immense numbers of the French at Chauvigny—above 60,000 horse, according to Froissart—were too great for all to pass in one day; the rest crossed therefore on Saturday the 17th, and marched, along a heath by the side of a wood, towards Poitiers.

A.D. 1356.

Thursday, Sept. 16th, part of the French army cross the river Vienne.

Saturday, Sept. 17th, the rest of the army cross.

While the French were thus making their way, through the Orléanois and Touraine, the Prince of Wales was marching through Berri, nearly parallel with the French army, and at the distance of only a few miles. He thought he was in advance of the French, and was, therefore, completely taken by surprise, when he found he was in their rear, and saw a small body of his avant-couriers, consisting of about sixty men, whom he had sent out to reconnoitre, galloping back pursued by about 200 men-at-arms. They had, in fact, come upon the main body of the French army, on the heath by the wood; and, on being attacked by a superior force, retreated at full speed to their camp, closely followed by the French. These of course fell easy victims. They were immediately surrounded, and the whole body of them was either killed or taken prisoners. This occurred on Saturday September 17th. It was, by this accidental encounter, that the Prince of Wales became aware, that the French were before and not behind him. He now saw that it was impossible to avoid fighting; and, therefore, marched on till he came to a place, within about six miles of Poitiers, suitable

The English are mistaken as to the position of the French.

They discover them,

A.D. 1356. for defence. Here he halted his army, and sent out a small body of men-at-arms to reconnoitre. Their leader was Jean de Grailly, who afterwards, under the name of the Captal de Buch, became well known as a gallant soldier, and bold and skilful captain.[1] These soon came in sight of the French on the plains or fields of Maupertuis, at Beaumont, to the north of Poitiers, and perceived that they were in immense numbers, the fields being quite covered with men. Nevertheless, they could not keep their hands off, and made a dash amongst them, killing some and taking others prisoners, much to the astonishment of the French, who still thought the English were before them, but now became aware of their real position. On receiving the news, King John was much pleased, feeling confident of overcoming the mere handful of men opposed to him, and joyfully prepared for battle.

and the French become aware of the position of the English.

The English knights, on their return, informed the Prince of Wales of the multitude of his enemies. He was in no way discouraged, and called a council, to consider the best plan of fighting. On that night, the English rested in a strong position, on rising ground, protected by hedges and ditches, and approachable only by a deep and narrow lane.

On the next morning, Sunday the 18th, the King of France and his four sons heard mass together, and received the Holy Sacrament; then, displaying the

[1] The title of Captal formerly belonged to several of the most powerful nobles of Aquitaine, and corresponded originally to the title of count. This dignity, which was at first personal, and afterwards became hereditary, was at first common enough in Aquitaine; but in the 14th century there were only two Captals, the Captal de Buch and the Captal de France.—Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 340, note.

celebrated standard known as the Oriflamme,[1] assembled a council of war. It was resolved that the French army should be divided into three great "battles," as the divisions of an army were then called, each consisting of 16,000 men. The command of the first, in which were twenty-six banners and twice as many pennons, was given to the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans; that of the second, to the King's eldest son, Charles Duke of Normandy and his two brothers Louis and John; while the third, was commanded by the King in person, who was accompanied by his youngest son, Philip. The King then summoned Eustache de Ribaumont, who had fought hand to hand so bravely with King Edward at Calais, and three other knights, and ordered them to go and reconnoitre the English, and find out their order of battle. On their return, King John, sitting on a great white horse, asked them, "What news?" "Good news, Sire," answered De Ribaumont; "you will have a good day against your enemies." He then said that he reckoned that the English numbered 2,000 men-at-arms, 4,000 bowmen and 1,500 "brigands."[2] This was, indeed, a small force, to dare to fight for life and death, for honour, for fame, for everything, with an army, which numbered nearly 50,000 men, at the lowest computation.

A.D. 1356.

The French prepare for battle.

"How are they posted?" asked the King. "Sire,

[1] This was used for the last time at the battle of Agincourt. See note in Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 341.

[2] This was of course only a mere guess, and is hardly consistent with the numbers stated by Leland (*Scala Chronica*) to have been lost by the English. But as Froissart (p. 349) states that the French outnumbered the English by seven to one, it is probable that the guess was tolerably correct, and that the numbers killed on the side of the English were exaggerated.

A.D. 1356. they are strongly posted," answered De Ribaumont; "they are well defended with hedges and bushes lined with their bowmen, so that you cannot get at them without passing among the bowmen, and there is only one road to them, with room for only four men-at-arms abreast. At the end of the hedge, among vines and thorns, where it is impossible to skirmish, are their men-at-arms, all on foot, and their bowmen are in front of them, after the fashion of a harrow, and you cannot get to them except among these bowmen, whom it will not be easy to discomfit." "Master Eustache, what do you advise?" said the King. "Sire," he answered, "let all your soldiers fight on foot, except 300 men-at-arms, the best of your host, mounted on the best horses, to break these bowmen, and then your men-at-arms will follow on foot, and fight as they please." The King approved of this advice, and placed them, under command of the Marshals Arnoul d'Audeneham and John of Clermont, in front of the first "battle." When his men were ranged in order of battle, he commanded, that all should fight on foot, except those, who were told off to charge with the marshals to break through the bowmen; that those armed with lances, should hold them short, and, that all should take off their spurs. Twenty knights, were then armed and dressed exactly like the King, so as to deceive the English.

The French examine the position of the English.

The French settle their plan of fighting.

The English, were in the position described by the four French knights; excepting, that some of their knights were kept mounted, to resist the attack of the French marshals, and, that 300 horse archers and 300 men-at-arms, unobserved by the French, were posted on a hill to their right, in readiness to make, at the proper time, a flank attack on the "battle"

Position of the English.

of the Duke of Normandy, who was at the foot of the hill. The Prince, and the main part of his little army, kept behind the vines, on foot, but with their horses close at hand. A.D. 1356.

The two armies thus faced each other, in battle-array, on the morning of Sunday, September 18th, and all seemed ready to begin the fight, when a messenger of peace, the Cardinal de Perigord, came in haste before the King of France, and, throwing himself down on his knees, entreated leave to speak. This being granted, he begged the King, to let him go to the Prince of Wales, to persuade him to surrender, saying, that the English soldiers were but a mere handful of men, compared with his great army. The King consented, and the Cardinal hurried off to the English camp. He came before the Prince, and told his errand. Edward was hard pressed even for food, and knew his perilous position, so he answered that, "saving his honour and that of his soldiers," he would listen to terms. Back went the Cardinal, and told the King he need not hurry, for that the English were his without striking a blow, that they could not escape, and he begged the King, to give them till sunrise on Monday morning, before beginning his attack. The King, supported by his council, was so unwise, as to refuse for a time to follow the Cardinal's request; at length he yielded, and again the Cardinal returned to the English camp. King John then ordered all his soldiers, except the battles of the Constable and the marshals, to retire to their tents. His own tent, "of vermilion samite, very elegant and very rich," was also raised.

Sunday, Sept. 18th, both sides ready for battle, when Cardinal Perigord negotiates for peace.

The Prince is willing to yield,

The whole of that day (Sunday), was spent by the Cardinal in going backwards and forwards, from one

A.D. 1356. camp to the other; but his efforts were in vain. The Prince, knowing his extreme danger, offered to give up all the places he had taken, to set all his prisoners free, and to swear not to take up arms against France for seven years. King John himself was willing, as he well might be, to accept these terms, which were as good as a victory, and summoned a council to consider them. Unfortunately, however, for the King, for his army, and for the very man whose counsel swayed the King, and who paid with his life for the merciless advice he gave, there was present in the council a Christian Bishop, whose voice was raised for battle, rather than for peace on any terms. This was Renaud Chauveau, the Bishop of Châlons in Champagne. He had a spite against the King of England, because he had lately charged him with being guilty of a crime of which he had not purged himself; so he rose and persuaded the King to refuse the offer of the Prince. He urged him not to allow his vengeance to be appeased, without grasping the victory of blood, which, as he blasphemously said, God had put into his hands.[1] The warlike Bishop prevailed; the peaceful Cardinal was no longer listened to; and the King declared he would consent to nothing, unless the Prince and one hundred of his knights gave themselves up without conditions. The Black Prince scorned to accept terms, which would save, neither his own honour, nor that of his soldiers. He rejected them, and fearlessly made ready for the fight.

but the French refuse his terms.

The Bishop of Châlons advises fighting.

In the meantime the English strengthen

While the negotiations were going on, the English had made good use of their time in digging trenches, and in every way strengthening their defences.

[1] *Cronica di Matteo Villani.* Firenze, 1825. Tomo iii. p. 231.

When day broke on Monday morning, September 19th, they were well prepared for the expected attack. A.D. 1356. their defences.

The battle began almost by accident. Eustace d'Ambrecicourt advanced alone from the English lines towards the "battle of the marshals," defying them; whereupon, one Louis de Recombes, a German belonging to that division of the French army, "carrying a silver shield with five roses gules," rode out to meet him. They fought; the German was thrown wounded to the ground, and was about to be slain by his conqueror, when five others rode out to his rescue, and took Ambrecicourt prisoner. This led to a general advance of the marshals' "battle." It had been settled that three hundred men-at-arms, well mounted, should break the bowmen before any general attack was made; and, that when this was done, the soldiers of the French host, should advance on foot. None, at the onset, were to fight on horseback, except the chosen three hundred, who, *enfants perdus* as they might be termed, were to dash through the English at all hazards. This was attempted, but the men-at-arms soon got entangled among the hedges of the narrow lane; while the English, protected by the hedges, shot forth ceaseless flights of arrows, which pierced the horses, and, sticking in them, made them furious. Thus, this part of the battle, became little else, than the confused struggle of a gallant but helpless mob, with an enemy, who could slaughter it without any possibility of resistance. In a few minutes, this chosen corps was entirely defeated; the Marshal of Audeneham was taken prisoner, and that of Clermont killed.

The battle of Poitiers begins.

The French are thrown into confusion by the English bowmen.

In another part of the field, it fared no better with the French. James Audley, "a wise and

A.D. 1356. valiant knight," by whose advice the greater part of the English fighting plans had been devised, had, in time past, made a vow, that if ever he found himself on the field of battle with the King of England, or his son, he would be foremost in the fight in his defence. Having got leave from the Prince to fulfil his vow, he chose out four other knights, and, accompanied by them only, charged among the French, killing and slaying, giving no quarter, taking no prisoners, and doing prodigies of bravery. When fighting was almost all hand to hand, it was possible for a few brave men, to produce an effect on even so mighty a force as was here engaged, especially, when it was badly placed, and badly handled by its leaders. While these encounters were going on, those who were behind the marshals, seeing their discomfiture, tried to get away from the narrow hedges lined with the English bowmen. In their retreat, they crowded back upon the soldiers of the Duke of Normandy. Then the English men-at-arms, who were posted on the hill on purpose to take the Duke in flank, seeing that the expected moment had arrived, charged down the hill, all on horseback, with many archers advancing with them, pouring clouds of arrows on the flying Frenchmen, and throwing them into utter confusion.

Gallant exploits of James Audley.

The English men-at-arms charge the French.

The English reserve charge, with the Prince of Wales leading them.

When the Prince, and men posted behind the vines, saw that the first "battle" of the enemy was thrown into confusion, and that that of the Duke of Normandy also was discomfited, they mounted their horses, crying out, "St. George, Guyenne!" Then "Master John Chandos" advised the Prince to charge, telling him the day was his; accordingly, he mounted his horse, and led his soldiers into the thick

of the fight. Amid cries of "Montjoye, St. Denis!" from the French, and "St. George, Guyenne!" from the English, the gallant Prince rushed on the division commanded by the Constable of France. Soon, however, he had to withstand the attack of the Germans, commanded by the Counts of Saarbruck, Nasco and Nido, who advanced to support the marshals. In other parts of the conflict, the English bowmen fought with their wonted skill and bravery. They shot their arrows so fast, that nothing could stand against them, and when their arrows failed them, fought with stones.[1] The three counts were taken prisoners, their "battles" defeated, and the Count D'Ambrecicourt, whose capture began the battle, was released. A sudden panic now seized the greater part of the division of the Duke of Normandy, and 800 of them, who had neither been attacked nor taken any part in the battle, mounted their horses, and fled. With them also, fled the Duke himself, and his brothers, the Counts of Poitiers and Touraine. A.D. 1356.

Panic and flight of the French.

The French Princes fly.

The battle, however, was far from ended; the King of France was still unconquered and undaunted, and fought so stoutly that, as Froissart says, "if one-fourth of his men had fought as well, the day would have been theirs." He was at the head of the third division of the French army, which consisted of the very flower of French chivalry. But he made a fatal mistake in his tactics. He had been advised, before the battle began, to order his men to fight on foot; this plan, which was well suited to a combat in a confined space, was the very worst on the open plain, to which the French had now been driven. But still, such was his ignorance of the art of war, that, when

The King of France still resists and fights bravely.

[1] Walsingham, p. 282.

A.D. 1356. he saw the Prince of Wales returning at full speed, at the head of 2,000 lances, to charge him, and shouting out "St. George and Guyenne!" he made his men dismount, and he himself did the same. The result may be easily imagined; but yet, such was the superiority of the numbers of the French, and so bravely did they fight, that the struggle was not soon over. The King, axe in hand, fought like a common man-at-arms, his little son Philip crouching behind him, watching his assailants, and telling his father where to strike and where to guard. "Father," he cried, "look to the right, look to the left." At last, however, the French were driven back to the very gates of Poitiers, where most determined fighting and great slaughter now ensued, for the citizens kept their gates shut, so that none could enter. Geoffroy de Chargny, the man who had endeavoured to obtain possession of Calais by bribing the governor, carried the Oriflamme, and kept close by the King's side. He was killed with the banner in his hand, and then the English pressed on the King himself, calling out, "Surrender! surrender! or you are a dead man!"

The King is taken prisoner.

"To whom shall I surrender?" asked the King; "Where is my cousin the Prince of Wales? If I saw him, I would speak to him." "Sire," answered, in good French, an immense man, who by sheer strength had pushed his way through the crowd that was gathered round the King, "Sire, he is not here, but surrender yourself to me, and I will take you to him." "Who are you?" said the King. "Sire, I am Denis de Morbecque, a knight of Artois, but I serve the King of England because I have forfeited everything in France." This was on account of a homicide he had committed. "I surrender to you,"

said the King, giving him his glove; but there was still a struggle for the possession of the captive King, one saying, "I took him," and another making a like assertion. A.D. 1356.

In the meantime, the Prince of Wales had been raging through the fight, "like a fell and cruel lion," as Froissart says, till at last John of Chandos, who always kept near him, seeing that the Prince was heated and wearied with constant fighting, advised him to sit and rest himself, and to hoist his banner on a neighbouring bush, in order to call together his scattered men, for, he said, the day was certainly won. His minstrels then sounded their horns, and the Prince retired into his tent. The French are defeated, and the Prince of Wales retires to his tent.

The battle was over. It had begun early in the morning, and was finished at noon; but it was evening before all the English had returned from their pursuit of the French, who were utterly defeated. They left 8,000 men dead on the field, among whom was that Bishop of Châlons whose merciless advice led to their defeat; 3,000 were killed in flight; thirteen counts, an archbishop, 66 barons and bannerets, and 2,000 men-at-arms were taken prisoners. The English loss was comparatively trifling.[1] Losses on each side.

Many of the English knights soon answered the Prince's summons, and came to his tent with their prisoners. When his marshals, the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk, arrived, the Prince asked them if they could give him any news of the King of France. "Nothing certain," they said; "but we think he is either dead or a prisoner, for certainly he has not

[1] Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 359, note. It is stated in the *Scala Chronica* that the English lost 1,900 men-at-arms and 1,500 bowmen. This, however, is probably an exaggeration.

A.D. 1356. left the field." So the Prince sent the Earl of Warwick and Reginald Cobham to search for him, and then, he asked whether any one could tell him what was become of James Audley. Audley and his four knights had been fighting all day, giving no quarter and taking no prisoners; but at last, Audley had been badly wounded, his knights had taken him from the battlefield, and laid him under a hedge, disarming him as softly as they could, and binding up his wounds. When this was told to the Prince, he was greatly grieved, and said he would go to see him, if Audley could not be carried to him. Two knights went to search for the wounded hero and give him the Prince's message. When Audley heard of the Prince's kindness, he thanked the messengers, and ordered his men to carry him to the Prince. On his arrival, the Prince spoke kindly to him, and the knight replied most humbly; then the Prince told him, he kept him as his own knight for ever, and promised him 500 marks a year. Audley thanked the Prince, but, being very weak, ordered his men to carry him away. On Audley's arrival at his tent, he sent for his relatives, who had fought that day, told them what the Prince had done, and declared, that whatever feats of valour he had performed, were owing to the bravery of his four knights. He then said, he had summoned them to bear witness, that he freely gave his knights the 500 marks a year which the Prince had promised him. When the Prince heard of Audley's generosity, after confirming his gift to the knights, he gave him for himself 600 marks a year.

The Prince sends to seek for the King of France.

The Prince and James Audley.

In the meantime, the Earls, who had been sent to search for the King of France, had mounted their

horses, and, from the top of some rising ground whither they had gone to look around them, saw a great crowd coming slowly along, with a prisoner in the midst of them. This was the King of France, whom some English knights had taken from Morbecque, and they were quarrelling as to whose prisoner he was. "My Lords," said the King, "take me and my son courteously to my cousin the Prince, and do not riot together about my capture, for I am a Lord, and great enough to make you all rich." These words quieted them for a time, but they soon began quarrelling again. When Warwick and Suffolk saw the tumult, putting spurs to their horses, they galloped up to see what it was all about. On learning that the prisoner was the King of France, and that a dozen knights were quarrelling as to whose he was, they ordered them to release the King, took him under their protection, and carried him and his son Philip, who had never left his side, in safety to the Prince.

A.D. 1356.

The King of France is found by the Prince's messengers,

and taken to him.

On their arrival, the Prince received his prisoners with the greatest courtesy, and did his best, to lessen the King's grief, by the words he spoke to him. He ordered supper to be got ready for them, served them himself, and, kneeling before the King, begged him to be of good cheer, and praised his bravery, telling him it was not for the sake of praising him, "for," said he, "all on our side who have seen you and your knights are agreed about this, and give you the prize and the chaplet, if you will wear it."

The courtesy of the Prince of Wales.

The rest of the prisoners were so numerous, that it was impossible for the English to keep them all guarded; they were therefore disarmed, and many of them released, on their promising to pay such a

A.D. 1356. ransom as they themselves said they were able to give.[1]

The English begin their march to Bordeaux.

On the following day, the English began their march to Bordeaux. They passed close to the city of Poitiers without attacking it, for it had been reinforced during the night by Matthew, Lord of Roye, and the English were so encumbered with the immense quantity of spoils they had taken, and the great number of their prisoners, that their only object was to get safe to Bordeaux. They marched but a few leagues a day, carefully keeping their ranks, the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk leading the way with 500 men-at-arms, to see that the country was clear. They met with no opposition, for the spirit of the whole country was so quelled by the terrible defeat and capture of the King, that none dared to offer the least resistance. This was as unwise as it was dis-

[1] The Prince's own account of his march from Bordeaux, and of the battle of Poitiers, which he sent to the mayor and corporation of the City of London, is singularly meagre. There is, however, one fact of interest in it, viz. that he evidently expected to meet his father and the Duke of Lancaster. He says, "the sovereign cause for our going to these parts was, that we expected to have had news of our lord and father as to his passage." He then says, "we took our road straight towards Tours, and there we remained four days before that city." If Froissart's most minute and circumstantial account is to be believed, the Prince never went to Tours at all, and his doing so seems indeed impossible. The Prince must have meant Romorantin. Be this as it may, however, he says that, on leaving Tours, "we took the road, so as to pass certain dangers by water, and with the intention of meeting our most dear cousin the Duke of Lancaster, of whom we had certain news that he would make haste to draw towards us." This expectation of meeting the King and the Duke looks as if the original plan had been that the three armies which left England should meet together—somewhere. See *Memorials of London Life*, edited by H. T. Riley, M.A., p. 285.

graceful, and could only be the effect of panic. The English were but a mere handful, they could hardly have numbered 5,000 fighting-men, while their enemies could easily have mustered ten times that number. A.D. 1357.

The Black Prince with his prisoners reached Bordeaux in safety, and great were the rejoicings with which he was welcomed. His first care was to provide a suitable lodging for the King of France and his son, and this was found in the Abbey of St. Andrieu. He then bought from his knights the prisoners they had taken; but there was a great dispute about the ownership of the unhappy King, and the Prince therefore said, he should come to no decision on the subject until his arrival in England. In the meanwhile, believing Denis de Morbecque to be justly entitled to claim the King as his prisoner, he presented him with 2,000 nobles. They arrive at Bordeaux.

The whole of the winter was passed by the conquerors in Bordeaux; and, as they had received great sums of money for ransom and booty, they spent it with proportionate extravagance.

On the capture of the King of France, the government of the country devolved on Charles Duke of Normandy. Such was then the state of France, that the Cardinals of Talleyrand and St. Vital presented themselves before him at Bordeaux, and offered to renew negotiations for peace. The Duke listened to their proposal with much readiness—as did also the Prince of Wales. It is remarkable that the Prince, casting aside all thoughts of his father's claims on the throne, should desire peace, but such was the fact, and at last, on March 23rd, 1357,[1] a truce for two years was concluded between England and France.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 349.

A.D. 1357. The Prince then began to make arrangements for his return to England. When the Gascons heard that he intended to take the King of France with him, they were greatly dissatisfied; for they felt that, although a prisoner, he was their sovereign lord, and his resigned conduct in captivity had probably softened their hearts towards him. But, as Froissart has repeatedly said, the Gascons were very covetous, and when the Prince offered them 100,000 francs, their objections to his carrying off their King to England were silenced. Edward left four Gascon barons to guard the country, and took with him the Captal de Buch and other Gascon lords. They sailed towards the end of April,[1] the King of France being placed, with delicate consideration, on board a different vessel from that of the Prince of Wales. Notwithstanding the truce, however, the Prince thought

The Prince of Wales returns to England, and takes the King of France with him.

The Black Prince lands.

[1] According to Buchon (*Froissart*, vol. i. p. 367, note), they set sail on the 11th April, and all accounts agree that they landed in England on either the 4th or 5th May. Walsingham says May 5th, the Chronicles of France the 4th, and Stow the 5th. It is probable that the date of landing is accurate, but, if so, as Froissart distinctly states that the ships were eleven days at sea, the sailing cannot have been on April 11th. Barnes (p. 526) states that the Prince sailed on April 24th, which agrees with Froissart's account of the length of the voyage and presumed date of landing. It is clear that the landing was at Sandwich and not at Plymouth, as stated by James, following Walsingham and Knighton. Preparations were undoubtedly made at Plymouth (Rymer, vol. iii. p. 348, March 20th) for the arrival of the Prince at that port, but that is no proof that they did arrive there, and as the passage was long it is probable that it was stormy, and that the ships were driven out of their course. Froissart's account of the journey from Sandwich to London is too minute to admit a doubt as to its truth. It is curious, however, that Stow, Villani, and Walsingham all state that the Prince arrived in London on May 24th, which is inconsistent with Froissart's narrative.

it necessary to provide against any attempt at rescue during the passage, and his vessels were therefore guarded by 500 men-at-arms and 2,000 bowmen. They were eleven days and nights at sea, and early in May landed at Sandwich, without molestation during their voyage. They remained two days at Sandwich, and then went on to Canterbury, where they slept; the next day to Rochester, then to Dartford, and on the fourth day to London. On their way, King Edward, who was hunting in a forest through which the Prince and his prisoners were passing, met them. King Edward saluted the King of France, and, with no little deficiency of delicate feeling, invited him to take part in the chase. King John—with greater propriety—declined, saying it was not a fitting time. Edward then, with boorish bonhomie, told the King that he might enjoy himself in the chase, or "at the river," whenever he pleased during his stay in England; he then went on with the chase, and King John continued his journey.[1] A.D. 1357.

Reception of the Prince and his Royal prisoners in London.

When the Prince and his prisoners entered London, King John was mounted on a fine white charger magnificently caparisoned, and the Prince of Wales rode by his side, with some affectation of modesty, "on a little black hackney."[2] On their arrival, they were received with great honour and respect; the multitudes who assembled to see them were so great that, although they passed over London Bridge at three o'clock in the morning, it was after mid-day before they arrived at Westminster Palace.[3] Bows and arrows and all sorts of arms, arranged in ornamental devices, were displayed in all the streets

[1] Matteo Villani, tom. iii. p. 295.

[2] Froissart, vol. i. p. 367.

[3] Walsingham, p. 283.

A.D. 1357. through which the procession passed, and above 1,000 citizens mounted on horseback came to meet them.[1]

King John and his suite were received by the King at Westminster Palace, and then conducted to the temporary abode which had been prepared for them. The Savoy Palace—so called from its founder Peter of Savoy, and "which was then a pleasant place belonging to the Duke of Lancaster,"—was their ultimate destination, and as soon as it was ready they removed thither.[2] There they remained for three years, and there, after four more years, the King died; having, in the meantime, been allowed to go to France, whence he voluntarily returned as a prisoner to England, because he found it impossible to carry out the provisions of the treaty of Bretigni which was made in 1360.

[1] Knighton, col. 2,615. [2] Stow, p. 263.

CHAPTER XXII.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS AND RELEASE OF KING DAVID.

THE overwhelming defeat of Poitiers so crushed the spirit of the French, and so utterly disorganised the whole country, that the Duke of Normandy had no inclination to renew the struggle, and the truce prevented any general outbreak of hostilities between the two countries during its continuance. The history of the never ending struggles between the English and French, may therefore now be broken off for a time, and the narrative of events, which had in the meantime happened in England, related. A.D. 1357.

Events in Scotland after the battle of Nevill's Cross.

At the end of October 1355, as already stated, King Edward invaded the North of France, while his son was similarly engaged in the South; but the King was quickly called back to England, by danger from his restless enemies the Scots. During the nine years which had passed since their defeat at Nevill's Cross in 1346, when their King was taken prisoner, and, with many of his nobles, carried off to the Tower of London, they had remained quiet. Balliol was thenceforth always called by the King of England "our dear cousin Edward King of Scotland," and he fancied that he really was a King; but the Scots in general would not look on him as such, and appointed Robert the High Steward, grandson, by his mother's side, of Robert the Bruce, guardian of the Kingdom.[1] Not-

[1] Tytler, vol. i. p. 453.

A.D. 1357. withstanding his questionable conduct at the battle of Nevill's Cross, the Steward justified the nation's choice. He soon had a powerful supporter in William Lord Douglas, who was nephew of "Good Sir James" the friend of Bruce, and son of Sir William Douglas the friend of Wallace. Douglas had been bred to arms in France, and returning to Scotland about this time, helped the Steward to clear various districts of the English invaders.[1]

[A.D. 1347.] The country however was altogether unsettled. In the following January, therefore, Edward sent Henry de Percy and Ralph de Nevill, with a guard, for it can be called no more, of 180 men-at-arms and 180 horse-archers, to Scotland with Balliol, "to do what good they could," and ordered them to remain there for one year;[2] but, at the same time, he tried whether severe cruelty would strike terror into his Northern foes. He wished to keep the country quiet. The King of Scotland was his prisoner, but he entertained negotiations for his release, while at the same time he always addressed the sham King, Balliol, as the King of Scotland. His object evidently was, either to keep Balliol on the throne as his tool, or to extort hard conditions from David; but in either case, it was essential that the country should be quiet, and this end he thought would be brought about by frightening the leaders, or putting them to death. With this view, in February 1347, he ordered two of his prisoners, John Graham, Earl of Menteith, and Duncan Earl of Fife, to be tried for treason against Balliol and himself. They were found guilty, condemned to be drawn, hung, and quartered, and this

King Edward's treatment of Scotland.

1 Tytler, vol. iii. p. 19.

2 Rymer, vol. iii. p. 104. "De y faire le bien qu'ils pourront."

cruel sentence was carried into execution on Menteith, but Fife was pardoned because of his relationship to Edward.[1] A.D. 1357.

During the next ten years, negotiations were continually going on for the release of David. Bishops and nobles, and even David's wife Joanna, Edward's sister, were constantly coming to England with this object; and David himself was allowed to go to Scotland in September 1351, to try to arrange with his subjects the conditions on which he might obtain his liberty. Negotiations for the release of King David.

The negotiations did not succeed, and David was obliged to return to prison in the following March. In the next year, 1353, on July 6th, he went to Newcastle, and his queen shortly afterwards came to London, probably with the object of persuading her brother to make easy terms for the release of her husband. In the meantime Edward had neglected no means to gain the Scotch nobles to his side. In July 1352, he had set at liberty William Douglas—the Knight of Liddesdale and "The Flower of Chivalry"—on conditions of such entire submission to himself,[2] that Douglas became the object of suspicion to the Scottish party. A deep hatred consequently sprung up between him and his kinsman William Lord Douglas, which was strengthened by a suspicion on the part of the latter that his wife had intrigued with Liddesdale, and Douglas therefore murdered the Earl one day while hunting with him.[3] At last on July 13, [A.D. 1353.] Their failure. [A.D. 1354.]

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 108. [2] Ibid. p. 246.

[3] Tytler, vol. ii. p. 23, who quotes the following stanza from an old Scotch ballad:

"The Countess of Douglas out of her bower she came,
And loudly there did she call,
'It is for the Lord of Liddesdale
That I let the tears downfall.'"

[A.D. 1354.] 1354, it was agreed that David should be released from prison on condition of paying 90,000 marks sterling to the King of England, 10,000 marks to be paid annually, and on the delivery of twenty hostages for the payment. It was also agreed, that in case of non-payment, David was to return to prison in Berwick-on-Tweed, or in Norham Castle.[1] On October 5th, the treaty was confirmed by the King and the Prince of Wales;[2] but the period of David's captivity was not yet accomplished. Before the treaty had been ratified by the Scots, Eugene de Garencieres, a French knight who had served in the Scottish wars, arrived in Scotland from the Court of France, at the head of a body of sixty knights, with 40,000 *moutons d'or*, which he distributed as bribes among the Scottish nobles. This evidence of support from France, induced the Scots, not only to reject Edward's treaty, but even to determine on an invasion of England. David therefore, who had been conditionally released, was obliged to return to the Tower.[3]

French help induces the Scots to break off negotiations.

The next year, the Scots again began their border warfare, provoked, as they alleged, by an inroad of the English; but it matters little who began. The Scots were nothing loth to have an opportunity of attacking the English, and, in the autumn of 1355, reckoning on the absence of the King of England and his son in France, they crossed the Tweed, led on by Lord Douglas and accompanied by Garencieres with a body of French knights and soldiers. After pillaging the country in the neighbourhood of the strong border Castle of Norham, they went on to

Border warfare begins again.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 281. [2] Ibid. p. 285.
[3] Tytler, vol. ii. p. 24.

Berwick-on-Tweed, and, profiting by a dark night on November 6, anchored their ships under the walls of the town, and took it by escalade the next morning before the garrison had left their beds.[1] Between the town and the castle, however, was a strong fortalice called the Douglas Tower; through this outwork Copland, the governor of Northumberland, made a sally, with the view of driving the Scots out of the town, but he was repulsed, and the Scots took the tower. They then attacked the castle itself, but it resisted their efforts, and the garrison held out until the arrival of King Edward with a large army. [A.D. 1354.] The Scots attack Berwick-on-Tweed.

A messenger had been sent to Calais, to tell the King of the danger in which the important city of Berwick was placed, and he, knowing that Berwick was the very key of Scotland, declared he would at once go to its relief, and never sleep in any town more than one night till he had reached Scotland.[2] He accordingly appointed John Beauchamp of Warwick governor of Calais, and set sail for Dover. He passed through London,[3] and held a Parliament at Westminster on November 25th, when the members were told by Sir William Shareshull, the Chief Justice, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that Sir Walter de Maunay should lay the King's wishes before Parliament. Sir Walter therefore stated how the King had vainly endeavoured to make peace with France, and Shareshull then related that the King was obliged to go to Scotland, and ended by asking for The garrison send to Calais to inform the King of their danger. Edward arrives in London.

[1] Avesbury, p. 209. [2] Froissart, vol. i. p. 309.

[3] Froissart (p. 310) states that Edward did not go through London, but went straight to Berwick. This is evidently incorrect.

[A.D. 1355.] a subsidy for carrying on the war. Parliament granted 50*s.* a sack on the exportation of wool, wool fells, and leather, which was more than had ever before been granted. Avesbury says[1] it would bring in 1,000 marks a day, and as, he adds, according to general computation, more than 100,000 sacks of wool were sent abroad every year, it would produce no less than the enormous, and indeed incredible, amount of a million and a half of pounds sterling, which would amount to very little short of ten millions at the present time.[2]

and proceeds thence to the North.

On November 30th, the King left London, and on December 23rd, issued orders from Durham for the assembling of soldiers, from various midland and northern counties, and also from Wales, at Newcastle-on-Tyne by January 1st.[3] It seems singular that the King should have taken three weeks to reach Durham, that he should have delayed issuing his orders for the gathering together of an army until his arrival there, and that he should have allowed only ten days for their assembling; his messengers must have been swift and the people always ready for war. Edward must also have completely drained the South of England of men to go with him from London; for, after "keeping his Christmas" at Newcastle, he made arrangements on January 6th for the defence of the South Coast of England against invasion by the French, and ordered the Londoners, the men of Kent, and the Prior of the Hospital of St. John at Jerusalem to collect men in bodies of hundreds and

After preparing for the defence of the South of England,

[1] Avesbury, p. 210.

[2] The average price of wheat in this year was 6*s.* per quarter.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 315.

twenties, because, as he said, "if our enemies knew that the Southern parts of the Kingdom were not defended they would invade them."[1] [A.D. 1355.]

In the meantime, Sir Walter de Maunay had gone on to Berwick, and had employed 120 men, brought from the forest of Dean and other parts of England, to dig an underground way to the castle. On January 13th, the King sailed up the Tweed and completely invested the town, when the Scots surrendered without resistance.

Edward relieves Berwick,

Edward now prepared for the invasion and complete subjugation of Scotland. His army consisted of 3,000 men-at-arms, that is, fully armed in steel, both man and horse, 10,000 light-armed horse, more than 10,000 horse-archers, armed with cross-bows, and as many bowmen on foot. Before he set out on his expedition, Balliol, on the 17th January, 1356, utterly surrendered to him all the rights which he had, or might have, to the Kingdom of Scotland, giving him, as evidence thereof, the royal crown, and earth and stones, which he picked up with his own hands and presented to the King.[2] For this despicable abandonment of his rights, real or supposed, and of his duties as a King, he received a pension of £2,000 a-year, to be paid quarterly.[3] He lived as a private gentleman in England, at Hatfield in Yorkshire, without leave even to indulge in the sports of the field; having disregarded the withholding of this permission, he was actually charged with poaching, and only pardoned on making humble

and then prepares for the subjugation of Scotland.

Balliol surrenders all his rights to Edward.

Balliol becomes a private gentleman, and is charged with poaching.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. pp. 315, 316.

[2] Fordun, as quoted in Buchon's *Froissart*, vol. i. p. 313, and Rymer, vol. iii. p. 317.

[3] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 317.

[A.D. 1356.] supplication for forgiveness. "Know, that whereas our dear cousin, Edward Balliol, King of Scotland,[1] at various times hunted and took 16 stags, 6 hinds, 8 staggards,[2] 3 fawns, and 6 roedeer, in the park, and fished in the ponds of the said lordship and took 2 pike of 3½ feet long, 3 of 3 feet, 20 of which some were 2½ feet long, 20 of 2 feet, 50 young pike of which some were 1½ feet, and 6 of which some were 1 foot long; and also 109 perch, roach, tench, and skelys, and 6 breams and bremettes: we, listening to the supplication of the said Edward, have pardoned him." To such a state of degradation had this wretched King fallen!

The English army advances, and the Scots retreat and lay waste the country.

Ten days after the agreement with Balliol, Edward, on the 27th of January,[3] advanced into Scotland with his magnificent army, intending to reduce it to entire subjection; but the Scots had gained by experience, and, following the example of Wallace and the dying instructions of Bruce, laid waste the country, so that Edward could find neither an enemy to fight with, nor a friend to supply his soldiers with food. To such an extent was the country laid waste by the patriotic Scots, and such also, it must be added, was the fury with which Edward burnt and plundered, that Edward's invasion was ever after known as "The Burnt Candlemas," Candlemas-day (the 2nd February) being about the time of the devastation.

Edward pushed on to Edinburgh, hoping to find his

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 341. In this document Edward styles Balliol, King of Scotland. It may have been that the poaching was committed while Balliol was in England, before the capture of David, and that Edward graciously pardoned him when he was no longer a king.

[2] The male red deer of the 14th year was and still is called a "staggard."

[3] Avesbury, p. 235.

fleet, which had sailed from Berwick with provisions, at Leith. But the fleet had been dispersed and destroyed by a storm, and there was therefore nothing to be done but to give orders for marching back to England. The retreat was disastrous. Every thicket swarmed with Scots, who harassed the English; every mountain-pass was infested by enemies, who attacked them at a disadvantage; even Edward himself was nearly taken prisoner. At length the invaders reached England; and Edward, dismissing his barons, returned to London. [A.D. 1356.] The English are obliged to retreat.

Soon after Edward's arrival, on March 15th,[1] he ordered it to be proclaimed in Scotland, that, whereas his "dear cousin," Edward Balliol, had given the kingdom of Scotland to him, it was his intention to govern the country according to its ancient laws. It is difficult to imagine, what power Edward could have, over a country, from which he had been so ingloriously driven. Edward arrives in London, and promises to govern Scotland according to its ancient laws.

Negotiations for a truce between the two countries were now set on foot; conferences for the release of David were renewed;[2] and the Earl of Douglas, the very life of Scottish chivalry, finding that he could no longer enjoy the delights of fighting the English in his own country, made a border-truce to last till Michaelmas following,[3] with Lord Northampton, who had been left in Scotland as the King's lieutenant. This set him free to enter the service of the King of France, enabled him to fight on his side, and share in his defeat at the battle of Poitiers.

It was not, however, for more than a year after Edward's rather ignominious return from Scotland,

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 325. [2] Ibid. p. 325. [3] Ibid. p. 327.

[A.D. 1356.] that the negotiations for the release of David, were brought to a successful termination. The intervening time was full of events. The battle of Poitiers had been fought; the King of France had been taken prisoner; and war with France, for a time, was ended. These circumstances may have disposed the King to milder measures towards the captive King of Scotland; but, doubtless, he also felt, that to subdue Scotland by force of arms would be a difficult task, and that it would be better to place on the throne a king who would probably be under his influence, and to make conditions with him which would lessen his independence, than to attack again such a nest of hornets, as Scotland always proved to be to those who molested it.

Truce between England and Scotland, and release of King David.

Early in 1357, the negotiations with Scotland, which ended in the release of David, were set on foot, and at length, on October 3rd, a treaty was concluded between the two nations. By this, it was provided, that David should be released, on condition of paying 10,000 marks a year for ten years to Edward; that there should be a truce between the two nations until the ransom was all paid; that hostages should be given for the fulfilment of the conditions; and that David should return to prison if default was made in any of the payments.[1] David was then released from Odiham Castle,[2] and went to Scotland. On his arrival, he disinherited Robert the Steward, who was heir to the throne, on account of his having deserted him at the battle of Nevill's Cross; but he became reconciled to him in the following year, and reinstated him in his former position.

[1] Rymer, vol. iii. p. 372. [2] Stow, p. 264.

Edward now adopted a different policy towards Scotland. He did all he could to conciliate the people, and promote a cordiality towards England on the part of the Scots, by encouraging trade between the two countries; and, by inducing young Scotchmen to come to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, he endeavoured to Anglicise the nation. [A.D. 1356.]

APPENDIX.

(See page 224.)

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BUILDING OF THE ROUND TOWER AT WINDSOR IN A.D. 1344.

From the "Saturday Review" of August 11, 1866.

The history of the Round Tower, as made out by the recent investigations of the archæologists, is curious and interesting, and very different from the notions on the subject that have been commonly received of late years. It belongs almost as much to the general history of the country as to the mere local annals. It has been usually supposed to have been a Norman structure, and the mound on which it stands to have been made at the same time. Both of these suppositions prove to be erroneous. There is not a yard of Norman masonry about it, and the mound is much older than the building upon it. The tower, though always called round, is not really so; the east side next the upper Castle is flattened to accommodate the building to the form of the mound—a clear proof that the mound was not made for the tower. This is further proved by documentary evidence; the builder's weekly accounts of the building of the tower are preserved in the Public Record Office, and contain no mention of digging out the moat or making the mound. The tower was built entirely in ten months, in the eighteenth year of Edward III. It was built in great haste by the special command of the King, to receive the Round Table for the new order of Knights of the Garter, then just established, and was required to be ready by St. George's day following, for the knights and their friends to dine in. A large number of hands were employed for a few weeks to collect materials, dig out stone, fell trees in the

forest, prepare lime-pits and sand-pits, and all things necessary for a great work to be done in a short time. Many were employed in the royal quarry at Bisham, near Marlow on the Thames, a few miles above Windsor, in digging out the chalk or soft stone found there, of which the bulk of the wall consists; but it is faced with better stone, a large proportion of it having been brought from Wheatley in Oxfordshire, and a smaller part from Caen. Some of this was bought in London of the Dean of St. Paul's, who had prepared it for some other purpose, but as that was not enough, three ships' loads were brought direct from Caen. The timber must have been used quite green, as the carpenters were sent out to cut it in the forest. Messengers were despatched to every part of England to impress the most skilful workmen. For a short time as many as 600 men were employed in the Castle, and 122 in the quarry in addition. But the number was soon reduced rapidly, the chroniclers say, on account of the wars and the consequent want of money, but more probably because, when the materials were all prepared, only a small number of hands were required, or could work at the same time. The building is called in the accounts, sometimes the Tower, and sometimes the Table. The drawbridges were strengthened for the purpose of carrying the materials across them, and in various ways it is evident that the circular wall which makes the Round Tower was built to receive the Round Table for the knights to dine at. The table was placed in a wooden gallery within the tower wall, with a passage under it for the servants, and an open space in the centre. The building was covered by a roof of tiles; part of the wooden arcade of the gallery remains, and nearly the whole of the cornice of the roof with the fine mouldings of the fourteenth century. There are entries in the accounts for the purchase of the tiles for covering the wall of the building over the Round Table, and the carting of them from Penn in Buckinghamshire, where they were made, to Windsor. The kitchen for the table was on the top of the square tower on the slope of the mound called the Kitchen Tower, which also served for the tower of a drawbridge over the moat. The table was in all probability long and narrow, consisting of heavy boards of convenient length, standing on tressels of very solid construction, similar to the one of this period still remaining in the hall of Penshurst in Kent. The knights sat on one side only, with their backs to the wall, and could see each other across the central court. The King and his sons dined with them, all on

the same level, without any high table. The whole cost of the Round Table, with the tower to contain it, was rather more than five hundred pounds of the money of that day, equal to about ten thousand pounds of modern money. The King sent an invitation to all the Free Knights in Europe, which was considered an excellent stroke of policy, as it was probable that many of them would take service under the English Crown. The King of France, Philip de Valois, was so much alarmed at it that he forbad any of the French knights to accept the invitation, and issued invitations for a round table of his own, which was built at Amboise. This has been destroyed, but engravings of it are extant. There was a similar Round Tower at Carcassone, of earlier date; but its situation was not convenient for the purpose. There are several other castles with circular keeps built on high earthen mounds, and consisting of a shell or outer wall only, the whole of the interior having been of wood. In all these cases the mound is probably early, belonging to the primitive earthworks, and the stone wall was built upon it long afterwards. The following account of the Round Table is given in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, evidently copied from the earlier chronicles of the period:—

This year the King caused a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken up, whome he set in hand to build a chamber in the Castell of Windsore which was called the round table, the floor whereof, from the centre or middle point into the compasse throughout the one half, was (as Walsingham writeth) an hundred foot. The expenses of this worke amounted by the weeke, first unto an hundred pounds, but afterwards, by reason of the warres (in France) that followed, the charges was diminished unto two and twentie pounds the weeke (as Thomas Walsingham writeth in his larger booke intituled the historie of England), or (as some copies have) unto 9 pounds.

The actual amount was 45*l.* in the third week, and only 37*s.* in several of the later weeks.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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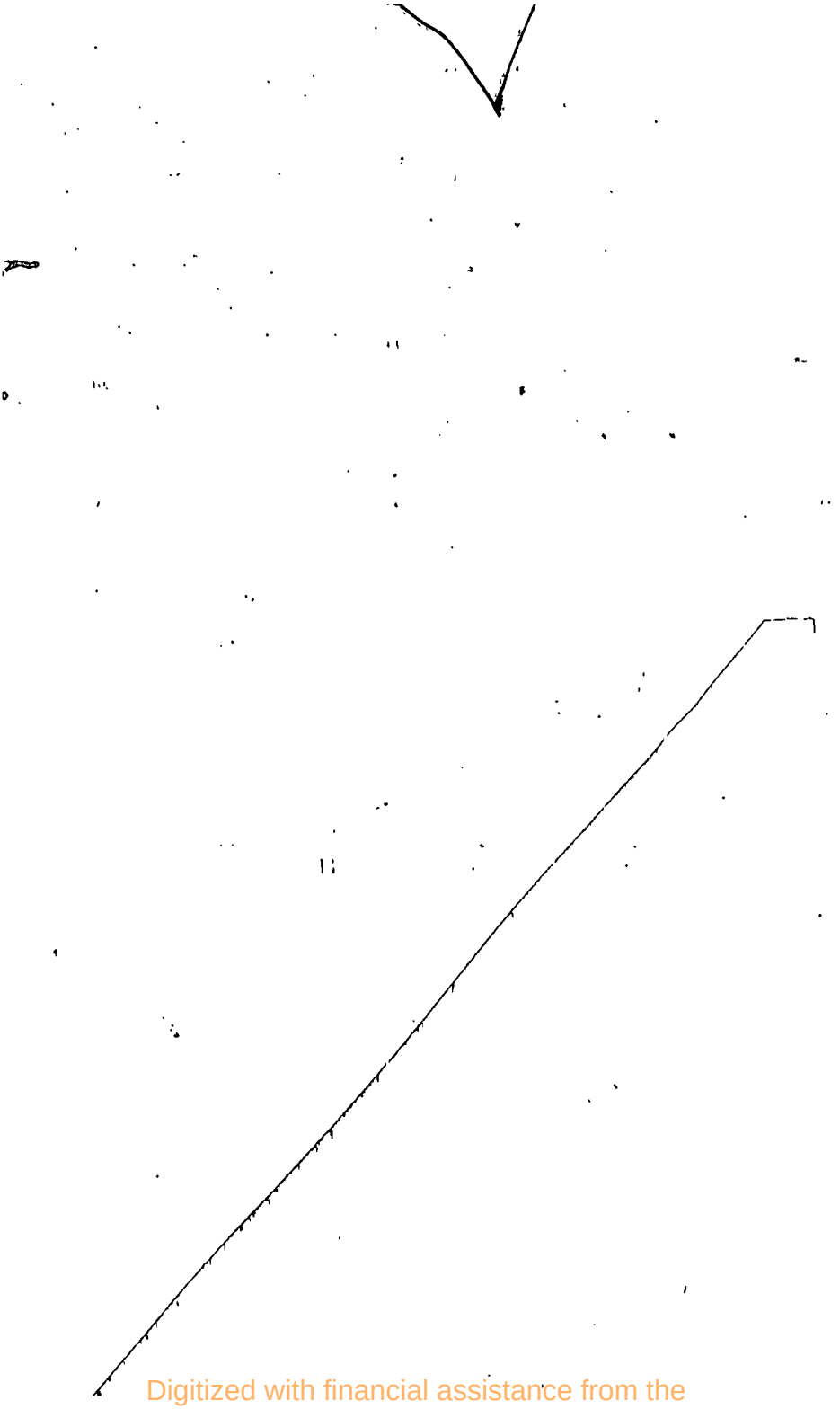

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